

BLACKHEAD ROAD: A COMMUNITY STUDY IN URBAN RENEWAL

CENTRE FOR NEWFOUNDLAND STUDIES

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BLACKHEAD ROAD: A COMMUNITY STUDY IN URBAN RENEWAL

by

© T. Morgan Williamson

Submitted in partial fulfilment
of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts
Memorial University of Newfoundland

June, 1971

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PREFACE

Urban renewal has been the subject of much public controversy on the North American Continent, mostly arising out of projects and concepts developed in the United States. To this open controversy, Canadian urban renewal has not contributed a great deal, perhaps because it has not been carried out on as grand a scale as has been the case south of the border. Moreover, little has been published on what projects in Canada have been carried out. In both countries, urban renewal raises many of the same fundamental issues, but it would be wrong for Canadians to become so immersed in the American literature as to believe that their problems in urban renewal are historically or administratively exactly the same as in the United States. From a Canadian point of view, then, there is a great need for an expanding body of literature on urban renewal indicating the unique way it has functioned in this country.

This thesis proposes to sample one Canadian urban renewal project. From a Canadian context, what this project tried to do was unique, as the new 1964 Federal urban renewal regulations were put to the test. From a more general framework, the project brought to bear many of the fundamental issues which have brought the whole process of urban renewal under question throughout North America. Examples of such issues are: what constitutes the public interest, what role should a citizens' group play, and the dichotomy which can result by having two interests at heart --

the over-all economic development of the metropolitan area and the upgrading of the living standard of the nation's poor.

The purpose of this thesis is to take a look at the circumstances under which these problems exist. What needs did the planners see for an urban renewal project that ultimately were not provided for in law, and how do those being acted upon by an urban renewal project see their needs, are two examples of broad issues which are looked at. Chapter I begins by outlining the location, physical attributes, and the history of the community being acted on by an urban renewal project. Chapters II and III look at the community as it is now. Chapter IV outlines the concepts of urban renewal and community development. Moreover, the Chapter looks at the history of Canadian urban renewal and the plans for the project under study. Chapters V and VI look at the actual implementation of the project with particular emphasis in Chapter VI on resident participation. In the Epilogue, we see how the project became radically transformed from its original purpose. Following this are the Conclusions, at the end of which are offered some general propositions. Methods of study are looked at briefly in Chapter I. However, for the more interested reader, a detailed analysis of the methods of study are included in Appendix A.

It is hoped that this study, while dealing specifically with a project on the Canadian scene, will also be helpful with regard to more general problems. Of particular concern are those problems and issues which may be encountered when dealing with working class people. Hence, this study has attempted to deal at some length with what those people living within an urban renewal project see as the solutions to their own problems and the ways they have attempted to make their own solutions a reality.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

For their much needed help in writing and compiling this thesis, I would like to thank the following people: Dr. D. Ralph Matthews, my advisor, for his kind suggestions and guidance; Joanne Myrick, for her moral support and for acting as a proofreader; Lois Saunders of CBC, who introduced me to my initial contact; Thomas Ryan, who provided many insights into the urban renewal project; Fraine Whittney, who allowed his students to carry out interviews; Eleanor Batten, Col. Jack Allston, Edward Harlick; Edward Yetman; the students who helped carry out interviewing; to all of the Church and Government officials who made records available; the Local Advisory Committee, which allowed me to attend its meetings; and the teachers at St. John Bosco, who allowed me to participate in their community survey. Special thanks goes to Father Leo Shea, now deceased, who took a great deal of time away from his rigid schedule to help provide information for this study.

ABSTRACT

The subject of how to improve the blighted and substandard conditions under which poor people live is an almost endless topic embodying a wide range of ideas. One broad approach to this problem, which has attracted a great deal of controversy, is urban renewal.

This study has examined some of the important characteristics of the "rehabilitation" urban renewal approach as it has applied to a small Canadian village on the outskirts of metropolitan St. John's in the Province of Newfoundland. Here, a new approach in Canadian urban renewal was tried. The incentive for this approach lay with the new 1964 amendments to the National Housing Act which were supposed to stimulate upgrading in areas not sufficiently substandard to warrant complete clearance.

In order to assess the situation, an in-depth look at the community to be affected was undertaken, followed by a close look at how people in the community were reacting to the project as construction of public works progressed. While "rehabilitation" urban renewal places its moral focus on the upgrading of the poor people in a given area, it is the conclusion of this study that under existing legislation these aims can become distorted. Furthermore, it is the conclusion of this study that there needs to be a greater commitment on the part of public officials to so-called "meaningful" citizen participation if successful rehabilitation urban renewal is to be attempted at all.

It is hoped, however, that this study will not stand out as only a criticism of present policies. There were a number of things from which the people in the community under study did benefit, and where mistakes were made some suggestions are introduced. One of the biggest problems facing officials is making the proper distinctions between the types of programs available so that they may be applied in a plan with deliberate consciousness.¹ This study addresses itself to these problems and others in a search for propositions which can lead to more practical methods of approach.

¹This is particularly true for politicians who endorse plans produced by apparently knowledgeable technical aids but who have the ultimate responsibility of answering to the people at election time for any mistakes made.

CHAPTER I

SETTING AND COMMUNITY HISTORY

Location

The entrance to the city of St. John's from the Atlantic Ocean lies through the "Narrows" which separates two huge cliffs. Directly in front, to the north and west, lies the City and its harbor. Paralleling the harbor in a westerly direction is Water Street, the main business district of St. John's, capital of the Province of Newfoundland. From their office windows, workers can look out across to that part of the harbor which lies to the south and also enjoy the magnificent view of the Narrows.

Of the two cliffs forming the Narrows, the easterly one is Signal Hill recognizable by Cabot Tower, a historic landmark, and by a cluster of small shacks, known as the Battery, that dot its rocky incline. The westerly cliff forms the edge of the Southside Hills which rise to a peak of 1,560 feet above sea level. On this side, the harbor is paralleled in a westerly direction by Southside Road, which runs along the base of Southside Hills. The harbor continues westerly for one mile. At the end of this lies the mouth of the Waterford River, the dry docks, and the railway yards. Slightly beyond this point, Southside Road joins Blackhead Road where it begins its steep and rugged climb up Southside Hills at an average grade of 10.5 per cent. About halfway up on a rough and hilly plateau lies the community of Blackhead Road.

To the north, south, and west, the community is bounded by steep slopes, and it has, therefore, found extensive expansion possible only to the east. For about one mile it stretches in this direction where it is faced by large oil storage tanks. To the south Blackhead Road winds out from the community on its journey to the tiny outport village of Blackhead and then on to Cape Spear, the most easterly point in North America.

Physical Aspects

The bulk of the Blackhead Road community, which is comprised of 373 houses and a population of 2,073, is situated in 229.15 acres. The residential density of this land area is 6.3 houses per acre (Project Planning Associates, Part II, 1967:4).

The average rain fall for the St. John's metropolitan area is 41.68 inches per year, while the average snow fall is 114.1 inches per year. This often creates a problem for residents of the community as water from rain and melting snow quite easily cuts deep ruts into the steeply graded unpaved Blackhead Road. Winter temperatures are quite mild thus preventing any great accumulation of snow. During the summer months the weather is often damp and foggy.

The topography of the area is very rocky and is covered in sections with underbrush and small trees. There are large open spaces which are underdeveloped. Mud and dust create two major problems in daily living -- keeping things clean and in traveling about the community. When it rains the dirt roads are badly scarred with pot holes and are often flooded. When it does not rain clouds of dust are created by moving vehicles. This

became the subject of a demonstration in the summer of 1969 with the extreme use of the roads by unusually heavy construction equipment.

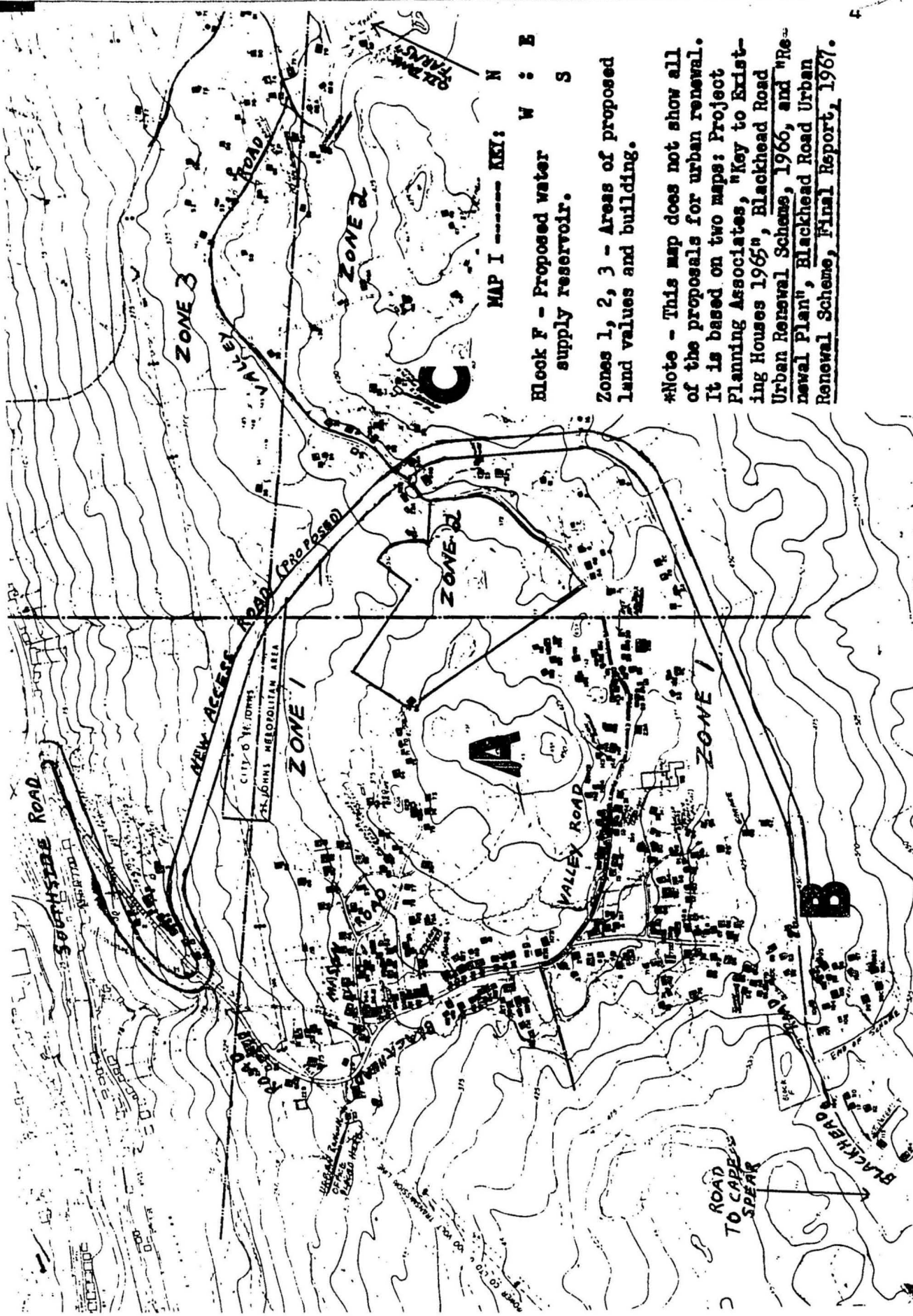
The community is situated on three main roads: Blackhead Road, Valley Road, and Mason Road (see Map I). Blackhead Road is the main road and derives its name from a small fishing village further along its route. Along this road are about 40 per cent of all the houses in the settlement. The remainder of the structures are situated along the other two main roads, or far back from any main road, or are located down byroads.

Mason Road, which derives its name from a resident who is no longer there, is little more than a jut-off to the east. It joins Blackhead Road just above the northern base of the community.

Valley Road, the longest road in the community, connects with Blackhead Road about halfway up through the settlement and continues east for about a mile to the oil tank "farms". The easterly section of the community along this road is known as "the valley".

Though these are the three main roads, smaller trails large enough to fit an automobile wind their way about clusters of homes. Generally, they are unnamed and known only as "byroads" or "paths". Occasionally a man's name is linked to such a path as in the case of "Learners Path" or "Hurleys Path". The name often indicates who was the first to make an inroad to his house or who lives at the end of the byroad.

Several streams run through the area and have been used to dispose of sewage. The main stream in the community is locally known as "the river". It tends to parallel Valley Road near the bulk of the community and then turns and parallels Blackhead Road.



MAP I ----- KEY:

Block F - Proposed water
supply reservoir. N : E
S

Zones 1, 2, 3 - Areas of proposed
land values and building.

*Note - This map does not show all
of the proposals for urban renewal.
It is based on two maps: Project
Planning Associates, "Key to Exist-
ing Houses 1965", Blackhead Road
Urban Renewal Scheme, 1966, and "Re-
newal Plan", Blackhead Road Urban
Renewal Scheme, Final Report, 1967.

The Blackhead Road community is physically distinct from St. John's, even though the city line does encompass part of the slope of Southside Hills.¹ To the north the residents can look over the harbor and the city. In addition, they are close enough to walk to the densest downtown area of St. John's. Little traffic passes over the poorly graded Blackhead Road.

The Study

In May of 1969, I learned of an urban renewal project underway in the Blackhead Road community. The project appeared, at first, to be different from any other urban renewal project in Canada. Firstly, urban renewal was being conducted in a community which, while adjacent to the city, has barriers that physically isolate it from the city. Secondly, the emphasis of the project appeared to lie in: 1) rehabilitation of private dwelling units, and 2) provision of basic services in the form of water and sewage. Moreover, in the past, urban renewal in North America has placed heavy emphasis on downtown central locations where the majority of those affected are apt to be renters. Here, urban renewal was attempting to encompass what, in effect, is a private residential district of substandard individually owned homes. Further, in a preliminary investigation about the area where I spoke with some of the residents and a

¹As can be seen from Map I, the city line cuts through settled areas of the community in two places. In the east Valley Road loops north into the city and then south again. In the western part of the community, a number of homes along the slope of Blackhead Road are shown as being in the city. When urban renewal eventually came to the area, these houses along Blackhead Road and within the city were removed.

number of the planners, I came away with the impression that they, too, felt strongly that something new was being attempted and that this might serve as a model project for all of Canada. I then spent most of the following summer familiarizing myself with the urban renewal plan for the area, examining plans for St. John's, interviewing officials involved with the project, and trying to establish a contact in the community who would introduce me to people and provide an over-all view of the situation.

As I progressed throughout the summer, I decided that a new approach in urban renewal was being attempted and that the best approach to research lay in a descriptive exploratory study. My hope was that this would lead to some relevant questions that might be tested as approaches to urban renewal improved. The core of the study was to focus on a questionnaire to be given in the community and on my observations from attendance at meetings in the community and at meetings of the various levels of government carrying out the renewal scheme.

Hence, as the year progressed, I began to attend meetings within the community, carry out unstructured interviews with residents, tried to develop a number of friendly contacts, and at one point became involved with helping the teachers at the local school conduct a survey of the area which they had prepared. The planners, however, were in no way prepared to allow me to attend their meetings or examine most of their records.

The questionnaire was completed by the beginning of December 1969. Up to the time that the questionnaire was ready to be used, it was assumed that I would conduct all of the interviews. However, at this point I was

offered the services of a class of undergraduates doing a course in social research methods. While I was still able to do a share of the interviewing, this gave me the opportunity to learn in practice how to organize and train an interviewing team and at the same time hopefully gave the students in the class a chance to apply some of what they had been learning.

The sample I chose for my study was a random sample of 75 household owners. Questions were compiled which related to the home owner's involvement with urban renewal and his activities in the community. Additional questions were asked about the community in general and about other persons living in the household with the owner.

Of the 75 selected in the random sample, 54 were successful interviews. Twenty-one interviews were not completed. Table 1 shows the number of interviews completed, the number of interviews not completed, and the reasons for not completing them. In instances where information was required about the home owner and the others living with him in the household, the information gathered encompassed a total population of 287 persons.

As can be seen in Table 1, 66.6 per cent of the 21 interviews not completed was due to some inadequacy in the lists of residents for whom no accurate listing exists. As a precaution against possible inadequacies, I endeavored to obtain two lists of residents in use by urban renewal from two different sources. One list was arranged according to a code established by the planners to represent each house on a special map. The second list was arranged according to the alphabetical order of the

TABLE 1.--Interviews in a Random Sample of 75,
Completed and Not Completed

<u>State of Completion</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Per Cent</u>
Interviews not completed		
1) Owners who had sold out and moved as far back as three years ago	6(8.0)	
2) Owners who had moved away and were either renting their facilities or allowing another family to use their facilities rent free	2(2.6)	
3) Owner who died	2(2.6)	
4) Errors in name on the lists	3(4.0)	
5) Error in list as owner had been outside the scheme all along	1(1.3)	
6) Owner refused to be interviewed	<u>7(9.3)</u>	
Total incompleted interviews	21(100%)	28.0
Interviews completed	<u>54</u>	<u>72.0</u>
TOTAL	75	100.0%

householder's name. There were some differences in the lists, and where this occurred, an attempt was made to co-ordinate them.

However, it was apparent from this experience that there were inaccuracies in the urban renewal project's records. In addition to those inaccuracies, in another three instances the actual owner of the home was not the husband as listed, but rather the wife because the husband had either deserted or was dead. In another four instances, the people listed as the home owner were using someone else's facilities. In these four cases, the actual owner of the house was sought. In all four instances, he was found and interviewed.

In the Urban Renewal Office, files were kept on each family. This constituted much of the raw data that had been used to compile a social study for the area in 1965. Since the urban renewal planners refused to allow me to consult this data, I was forced to rely on the finished report done in 1965 when I wished to use information relating to the community in its entirety. This report, called An Interim Report on Urban Renewal at Blackhead, Near St. John's, Newfoundland for the St. John's Metropolitan Area Board, is referred to in the following pages as the Interim Report. It is, to date, the most comprehensive analysis of the population characteristics of the area. However, the report does suffer from a number of inadequacies. While problems with the Interim Report will become a subject for more detailed attention in later chapters, there are several points worth mentioning now.

To begin, not all of the statistical categories in the report were mutually exclusive, and not all of the categories were defined. For

example, it is impossible to tell exactly what is meant by the word "family" or what members of a given household constitute a family unit. Thus a problem encountered early in the study, without access to the urban renewal files, was how to reconstruct the statistical categories in the Interim Report in order to make comparisons with the sample survey of 54 home owners. This problem, coupled with the fact that no research design was included in the Interim Report, made many potentially fruitful comparisons an impossibility. This latter problem, however, is not uncommon with commercial firms preparing surveys where very often the research designs become carefully guarded secrets.

Next, there were some discrepancies showing the location of homes between various maps used by the urban renewal project. One member of the land survey team, in fact, complained that the team had been sent out to survey the property for homes which did not exist. Upon closer examination, some structures were found to be no more than shops. Some residents who became familiar with the Interim Report claimed that there were more families in the area than was indicated by the Report in 1965. These indications, when considered with the discrepancies in the two lists of home owners which I obtained, would indicate that the exact number of families or homes in the area is still unknown. Nevertheless, the Interim Report constitutes the official record for the area and is the most comprehensive statement upon which comparisons can be based, when it is possible to construct them. For these reasons, then, the figures in the Interim Report were relied upon for illustrative purposes.²

²For a more in-depth description of the method of study used, the difficulties encountered, the reliability of this study, and the methods for mapping the community, the reader is asked to consult Appendix A.

In concluding this section, I should like to point out that the exact boundaries of the community as one moves along Blackhead Road toward Cape Spear are difficult to establish. On the other three sides, the community has very definite boundaries. Insofar as the boundaries of the community along the road to Cape Spear are concerned, the urban renewal planners have solved this problem to their satisfaction by encompassing the 3.02 acres on which the absolute majority of the houses are located. Forty-seven dwellers along the road to Cape Spear have been given the option of moving into this area if they wish, but officially they are outside the Scheme. Since the focal point of this study was urban renewal, I limited myself to the same acreage as the urban renewal project. However, before urban renewal can be seen with its full impact, the community of Blackhead Road must be examined more closely. Chapters one through three propose to accomplish this.³

History

Because a general history is important if changes within the community are to be depicted, this section will be dealt with in some length. It has, therefore, been broken down under eight subtitles: Background, Land, Name of the Community, Stigma, Government, Religion, Education, and Employment.

³All names pertaining to individuals in this study are fictitious except where persons are politicians, a member of the clergy, or are a part of distant history.

Background

Establishing a date for the historical beginnings of the Blackhead Road settlement is impossible and could become a subject for local controversy. Perhaps one could begin with 1762 when the French land forces marched over Southside Hills supported by a fleet attacking the St. John's harbor. The English defeated them that year.

"An' to this day, when its foggy an'
rainy ye can hear the Frenchmen cryin'
in the bay",

say some of the more aged residents. Also the claim is made that old war relics may be found in places not far from the settlement.⁴

Perhaps, too, one could begin with the McCormack family in 1810 and the arrival of James McCormack from Ireland, if one wishes to take the word of his descendants. Old land lease contracts do exist for places near the settlement in the offices of a private law firm that range as far back as 1820. However, it is difficult to tell much from them since they are in an advanced state of decay.

For the majority of residents who take an interest in who was the first resident, "Linegar" is the name that stands out. The date they cite is 1897. But here again, there appears to be a discrepancy in the official records. Thomas Linegar, for example, purchased a piece of land that extended from the base of Southside Hills up the slope in 1897, but his house was located at the foot. While it is possible he may have constructed

⁴As the above would indicate, a lively folklore has built up to some degree about the area. For a closer look at one of a number of local ghost stories, the reader is referred to Appendix C.

a home in the settlement and failed to make a record, it appears as though no one can say for sure when he moved up to the top of his property. Consequently, there is no official record of who was first to actually live on the hill, and as indicated by the case of the McCormack family, the following years saw land titles become obscure and confused.

In 1932, the city of St. John's undertook a land survey and, at that time, had to rely on the word of some residents for what they owned. By the depression, only a handful of people had moved to the Southside Hills where they found cheap land and a chance to build. Land was either granted or leased by the Newfoundland Government or the Reid Newfoundland Railroad which owned a great portion of it after 1904. Shortly before the depression, however, the Reid Newfoundland Railroad was taken over by the Government.

In 1928, Sir Richard Squires was elected Prime Minister of Newfoundland. By 1932, the Government had gone bankrupt and a general strike occurred in St. John's. As a result, riots broke out in the city. Later in the year, a new election was called, and Fredrick Alderdice emerged as the new Prime Minister. Alderdice then requested that the British Government send a commission of investigators to determine what could be done. In 1934, Newfoundland willfully gave up independence in favor of a Commission Government. These actions are attributed by one local historian as the key to certain land policy changes. Under Commission Government, many city dwellers, unable to afford the cost of living in St. John's, began their exodus to the Southside Hills.

This marked a change in the development of St. John's where, due to the restrictive terrain to the south, land development was concentrated mainly north of the harbor (Bland, 1946:2). Under Commission Government, people were given pieces of land by the Government and offered a chance to clear a plot of ground and build to the south. Local historians cite at least two ways in which people were induced to move. One was through some governmental subsidies in building material, while the second way depended upon the policy of two local lumber companies who paid many of their employees in materials. In addition to this, some residents resorted to pilfering what little they could.

By the 1930's, a couple of the older families on the hill had begun small farms, and some of the newer residents also began small patches of farming in order to provide for themselves. But this practice was short lived. Reasons which have been given for this include the poor quality of the soil, increasing thefts as the population rose, and, as more money became available, it became more convenient to purchase food. Wells were also dug in many instances to supply drinking and washing water. Those who did not dig wells found themselves largely dependent upon neighbors or collected water from nearby ponds or the Waterford River. Families were also faced with the task of building homes. Such projects were not harmonious "barn raisings" where everyone in the settlement turned out to help a new neighbor shelter his family. As will be pointed out in greater detail in Chapter II, many did not rely on friends for help. Instead, help often came from only a few relatives in the immediate family. In the meantime, the Blackhead Road which could barely fit a horse and buggy

was widened by men working for the "dole", and Valley and Mason Roads were also widened and extended. The project of improving the roads utilized local labor.

The 1940's saw the second surge in residents moving to Blackhead Road. Two things prompted this according to some residents who can remember back to then. First, some were forced out of apartments and boarding homes as rents rose and the economy turned upwards. This occurred with the influx of Canadian soldiers stationed on Southside Hills and around St. John's, together with the establishment of a United States Air Force Base at nearby Fort Pepperell. Second, some who had been living marginally found that their incomes had increased to the point where they could afford to build their own houses if they could find cheap land and a refuge from rents and taxes.

During this time, a few improvements were made on the roads as the Canadian Navy built quonset huts and caves to store explosives close to the site where the oil tanks are today. A road was then constructed from Southside Road up to these quarters in "the valley". When the military left, the road, which was privately owned by the military, was allowed to degenerate. By 1946, the city was beginning to notice poor conditions existing in the Blackhead Road community. In the city town planning report of that year is quoted the following description of a house on Blackhead Road which was originally taken from a report of a Public Health and Welfare Officer,

This shack like many others in this locality, is of the crudest construction, boarded up on the outside of the studding and sheathed with felt (lathed on). It is off

the road some ways and is built on a piece of land of indefinite size, but not much larger than is absolutely necessary to take the house. There is no room for, or possibly having (sic) a well or toilet on this piece of land, with the result that water has to be obtained from neighbors and the sewage is being dumped in the drain (a stream) or in nearby bushes. The same condition of affairs exists in nearly all the houses in this locality (Ibid.:20).

Land

From the above discussion, it can be seen that the Blackhead Road area offered a promise to Government. It appeared to be a way of directing and helping cases of poverty and in the process help relieve some in-town congestion. Even while the population of the city in the 1930's was only around 40,000, with scarce building land even on the north bank of the harbor, the city was becoming cramped (Ibid.:2). To the people, the area also offered a promise. To them, it was a chance to begin new lives without the pressure of rents and taxes with which they could not cope.

For many, these poor conditions did not change dramatically over the course of the years. Hence, there developed certain private arrangements among the people for securing land. A common practice, for example, was for a father to give his offspring a portion of his own land for them to build homes. Certain areas of the community, therefore, have become densely populated. This is particularly obvious along portions of Blackhead Road and also along Valley Road where it meets Blackhead Road. Another practice was to pass notes written in pencil, or to verify in pencil on the back of deeds, that a sale had taken place. In many cases,

the appropriate land offices in the Government were never notified. Throughout the years, then, land titles in the Blackhead Road community have become hopelessly confused.

In 1967, the Final Report prepared by a planning firm regarding the impending urban renewal project for the area noted that:

Of 371 families who answered questions about their land tenure during the survey in 1965, no fewer than 265 claimed to own the land; 10 families leased the land from others; 34 families said that they had some other form of tenure...and 35 did not know what their form of tenure was (Project Planning Associates, Part II, 1967:2).

The above analysis of land tenures does not conform to the land grants map. Hence, the residents themselves are not entirely sure of exactly what they own. This situation is further agitated by some inaccuracies in the 1932 survey and because some private arrangements over pieces of land have occurred, apparently more than once, and have centered around either a whole or some fractional part of a lot. However, a sense of ownership has often been instilled by use.

Name of Community

There is no name for this community other than that which has arisen in day-to-day language. The name "Blackhead Road" arises, as has already been explained, because of the location of the community along the road that goes to the village of Blackhead. Even the phone book finds the situation confusing. Generally, the residents are listed according to which main road they are nearest, but in a number of instances, those living on other main roads are listed as "Blackhead". "Blackhead",

"Blackhead Road", "Blackhead Road area" are among the names used to describe the same area. The name "Blackhead Road" is used in this study for it is the least offensive one to the residents and is generally chosen by people when they wish to be "formal" about the area.

Two other names are also in general usage. "The hill" is the most recent invention, while "the brow" is a name which has been around for a considerable time. "Brow" is a term in general usage in Newfoundland and refers to the edge of a cliff or a hill. The residents began by using the term "brow" as a descriptive abbreviation for Blackhead Road. Through the years, this term firmly caught on as a way of referring to the area by "townies" (i.e. people from St. John's), the press, and Government officials. "The brow", however, gained a bad reputation for itself over time, and as this happened, the term took on many connotations. While the average resident of St. John's probably did not pay much attention to the actual usage of the word, the people of Blackhead Road came to feel that it was being used with increasing prejudice. Gradually, then, a new descriptive abbreviation emerged among the residents to describe where they lived. This gave rise to the term "the hill". The term "the hill" is at present a local name which is not used widely by outsiders. The name "the brow" is widely used today by people from St. John's and in the press, but one will rarely hear it uttered on "the hill".

Stigma

It is difficult to pinpoint exactly why the area is looked down upon. Various explanations may be offered. It could result simply from

the class differential between Blackhead Road and other higher income areas in St. John's. To some extent also, lower class areas will regard other areas with suspicion, which may be a result of the close knit family ties characteristic of such areas. Blackhead Road is not alone among the lower class areas of St. John's for having a bad reputation. Physically, its characteristics as a depressed area are not uncommon in Newfoundland, as will be explained in greater detail in Chapter II. In fact, the whole area has often been compared to a Newfoundland "outport" like the village of Blackhead from which the area derives its name. Indeed, considering that close to 90 per cent of St. John's is made up of native born Newfoundlanders, an area such as Blackhead Road is not apt to be an unfamiliar sight. Perhaps this in itself helps contribute to the stigma since people from small Newfoundland coastal communities, called "baymen", are themselves objects of jokes by the "townies". Blackhead Road, set apart as it is, can hardly be considered to be part of the mainstream of life in St. John's. But the people from Blackhead Road are often portrayed as "toughs", whereas the "baymen" are more often portrayed as "honest and simple". The Blackhead Road has an image, crystalized in the minds of many, as an area where one could be beaten and robbed. The picture one often gets in conversation is of an area comprised of juvenile delinquents, alcoholics, and problem families. When St. John's first embarked on its urban renewal study for the entire metropolitan area (1961), they had trouble with apprehensive interviewers, who later reported back that they were quite surprised to find the area so friendly.

Perhaps the basis for the reputation of the Blackhead Road today rests partly in its history. It is quite obvious that today there is resentment in some quarters against the Canadian Navy who stationed personnel in the valley during the Second World War. This resentment was summed up by several residents who explained that the military personnel found the area most accessible for dates and that they conducted themselves in a manner unacceptable to the residents. Hence, one resident explained, fights broke out and, in general, outsiders eventually were not accepted on "the hill". It is certainly possible that over the years this story has become exaggerated, but it does have collaboration in the reasons other residents have regarding the reputation of the area.

Another plausible explanation for the reputation of the area may lie in the way in which the community was founded. It began as a refuge and developed into a situation that scared the health and fire authorities, thereby causing poor publicity. The area is comprised of a number of welfare recipients presenting an image to many of lazy, unkept individuals unwilling to help themselves. Said one resident, explaining why the Blackhead Road is looked down upon, "There are two kinds of people on the hill." Those who arrived before World War II, he characterized as hard working, of good moral fiber, and as victims of hard times. Those arriving after the War, he characterized as "derelicts". Other comments about the residents by people living or working (because of urban renewal) in the area include:

They don't want to do anything for themselves.

They are like animals, they have been pushed around, and kicked.

The people are very dependent.

They are clanish.

They are easily led.

Government

In 1949, the Commission Government from England ended, and Newfoundland voted to become a Province of Canada under the Premiership of Joseph R. Smallwood. Once again the economy rose, and in St. John's health standards were raised and services increased. In the meantime, the Blackhead Road was becoming a favorite dumping spot, and the remains of decaying automobiles could be spotted everywhere.

In 1951, the Local Area Planning Act was passed to exercise control over building and housing regulations. In 1953, an amendment was made to the city act which gave the City Council the powers to prohibit future building in the fringe areas surrounding the city. On September 3, 1954, the headline in one local paper, the Daily News, read, "All Building on Signal and Southside Hills is Banned" (Daily News, September 3, 1954:3). The accompanying article went on to say that the City Council had been studying these areas for sometime.

The development of sub-standard housing has meant that many residents are living under most unsanitary conditions. A particular problem that is a constant worry to the authorities is the fact that since no city services are available in such areas, the residents may be using water from badly contaminated wells, a health hazard that is explosive.

The article further noted that it was,

....impossible to remedy conditions to any extent, because city services can't be extended to most such developments

which for the most part are located on the fringe of the council's authority that is one mile outside the limits (Ibid.).

The amendment was intended to prevent chaotic growth in the area. In some instances, it was enforced to the point where residents could not even make extensions or improvements to their own homes. The Council's directive was all encompassing rather than selective. Enforcement of the development restrictions, however, was not entirely successful for many people resented them.

In the meantime, the city was looking for other solutions. In 1955, "the city planning officer was instructed to conduct a survey" of the fringe areas (Project Planning Associates, 1965:2). This report, however, appears to no longer exist. Again in 1956, a firm was hired to conduct another survey of the fringe areas and to make recommendations. This report, carried out by Canadian-British Engineering Consultants, was ready by November 1957. Its purposes were to suggest the boundaries of the metropolitan area surrounding the city, to recommend areas to be developed, to suggest how the fringe areas could be administered, to recommend the kinds of services needed, and to estimate the cost of these services. The report recommended that certain populated areas be developed, while other areas on the fringe be completely restricted (Canadian-British Engineering Consultants, 1957:49). Though the report acknowledged the extreme difficulty in developing the Blackhead Road area, it recommended that the community be kept intact and that services should be extended to it.

The report foresaw the need for a Metropolitan Area Board which was established later in 1963, though they preferred the name Township Council.

They proposed that the fringe areas be divided into four districts, each electing two representatives to the Township Council. A reeve would preside over the body and would be appointed by the Lieutenant-Governor in Council. When local government matured in these four districts, the reeve would then be elected at large.

The reeve, it was proposed, would represent the Township Council on a still higher body called the Municipal Council. The Municipal Council was envisioned as consisting of seven members: a chairman, mayor of St. John's, three city counsellors from St. John's, the mayor of Mount Pearl, and the reeve from the Township Council. The city of St. John's was envisioned as retaining the powers of local government over the city, but would relinquish power to the Municipal Council over "certain" services. Moreover, this Council would be empowered to take out loans and levy taxes.

St. John's, it was suggested, should be given the greatest representation on the Municipal Council because of its much larger population. However, the residents in the fringe areas would have a direct say in their affairs through elected representation. The ultimate objective of this plan was the establishment of a single system of elected representatives in which all the fringe areas and St. John's itself would become united. Said the report:

Parts of the township abutting on the city could, as they become sufficiently urbanized, be annexed to the city, until ultimately all of the areas zoned for urbanization were so annexed (Ibid.:111).

Canadian-British Engineering Consultants went on to recommend that the Chairman of the Municipal Council and the reeve of the Township Council become full-time paid positions. This was an important point

envisioning the need for continuous and undivided attention to the fringe areas and their difficulties. The report went on to be quite specific in its recommendations regarding recreational areas and police protection. Few of its recommendations were followed.

Until 1963, the city of St. John's had jurisdiction over Blackhead Road and the one mile fringe area surrounding the city. In 1963, the metropolitan area of St. John's became incorporated. At this time, the Provincial legislature made provisions for the establishment of the Metropolitan Area Board. This body was empowered with the jurisdiction over the one mile fringe area surrounding the city with the exception of the incorporated town of Mount Pearl which was within these limits. This amounted to a total land area of 70,000 acres and included the Blackhead Road settlement (Provincial Planning Division of the Department of Municipal Affairs and Supply, 1966:7). By 1964, the Metropolitan Area Board had become a reality with the provision that the City Council would have two representatives on it. The Board was not considered to be a full-time occupation and remained unpaid until 1968 when each member received \$25 for each meeting he attended. Meetings were scheduled every two weeks.

The Metropolitan Area Board began as a very small entity with almost no staff. It was, and still is, dependent upon the Provincial House of Assembly for its funds. The Board does not have any powers to assess its constituents for revenue nor, for that matter, are the Board's constituents represented on it. The Board is appointed by the Lieutenant-Governor in Council and is not an elected body. Thus, as far as the people of

Blackhead Road were concerned, there was little change in their position. They had never been permitted to vote in city elections and, even under the Metropolitan Area Board which governed them, they remained without direct voice in their own affairs.

The direct responsibility of the Board was to the Provincial Minister of Municipal Affairs, who in 1963 was Beaton J. Abbott. By 1966, John Crosbie had been appointed to this post, and by 1968 it had been taken over by John Nolan. Nolan, unlike the others, was from the Southside, although not specifically from Blackhead Road. He was elected in 1966 to the Provincial House of Assembly to represent the voting district of St. John's South.

The people in Blackhead Road, then, were faced with a government in which they had no direct representation. The city, as we have seen, thought it impossible to supply the area with services under the existing structure of government. Hence, the people were without water, except for private wells and surrounding bodies of water, and were without sanitary services. They had to bury their garbage, burn it, throw it in the bushes or, as was a common practice with night soil, they dumped it in the river. In addition, homes were often without outhouses or septic tanks. Snow removal was restricted to Blackhead Road and not extended to Mason or Valley Roads.

As will be seen in detail in the next section, the people under the leadership of their representative churches did attempt to clear up this situation through positive action, but little was ever accomplished. In the meantime, the Department of Health feared that a catastrophe would

occur. Government, in an effort to control the threat which existed to the people of Blackhead Road, and consequently to the people of St. John's, saw negative restrictions as the only way to deal with the situation. The Metropolitan Area Board, while not deaf to the situation, was restricted through revenue and available personnel. Moreover, it was responsible for acting like a City Council to some 26,000 people in the whole one mile fringe area, and not just the 2,000 individuals comprising Blackhead Road.

The Board did establish a permit system to alleviate the complete ban on all development in the area, but,

In practice the permit system operated by the Board has endeavoured to maintain the restrictive policy set by the Council (Project Planning Associates, 1965:2).

In its concern for the fringe areas and in recognition that negative restrictions could only serve as a temporary policy to control the poor state of affairs, one of the first acts of the Metropolitan Area Board was to instruct the Provincial Planning Division of the Department of Municipal Affairs and Supply to provide yet another plan for the area. This plan was completed by August of 1966 and contained the following statement of purpose:

The Board, recognizing the fact that development control in itself is merely a negative form of planning and can only at best attempt to prevent the worse development from taking place, immediately sought to prepare a comprehensive plan for the area which would not only prevent unsatisfactory development but would guide and encourage new development into those areas where it could best serve the entire community thereby adding to the general development and improvement to the area as a whole (Provincial Planning Division of the Department of Municipal Affairs and Supply, 1966:xi-xii).

This plan submitted by the Provincial Planning Division of the Department of Municipal Affairs and Supply recommends, as did the report submitted by Canadian-British Engineering Consultants, the areas of responsibility for the administrative body. In addition, it specifies that this body should be able to take out loans and assess taxes. In this report, the recommended alternatives for representation by the people are: 1) enlarge the powers and the membership of the Metropolitan Area Board, or 2) develop the area to the point where it could establish its own municipal government. A third alternative advanced at a later time was annexation by the city. Thus, today, as in the past, the only recourse available to those who wish a voice in their local affairs through some type of organization seems to be through becoming active in church activities.

Religion

The vast majority of the Blackhead Road have always been Roman Catholic. This group is followed in number by the Anglican Church, with the third largest group being the United Church of Canada. Table 2 shows the religious composition of the community in 1965.

Prior to the Second World War, the Roman Catholic Church was almost exclusively involved with Blackhead Road. During this time, a small one room grade school was maintained in the area, built in 1933. Blackhead Road came under the jurisdiction of St. Patricks Church in St. John's West, and the residents were expected to brave the cold in the winter to hike down to the bottom of the hill and on to Mass. Shortly thereafter,

TABLE 2.--Religious Denomination of Families in
Blackhead Road, 1965

<u>Religion</u>	<u>Number of Families</u>	<u>Per cent of Families</u>
Roman Catholic	276	72.3
Anglican	57	14.9
United Church of Canada	36	9.4
Salvation Army	4	1.0
Other	<u>9</u>	<u>2.4</u>
	382	100.0

(Project Planning Associates, 1965:6)

a policy was begun of holding Mass once a month in the school, and a number of years later this was increased to once a week.

These were exceptionally hard times when, except for the tiny school, no facilities or institutions existed in the area. It was also an era of conservatism among the clergy who did all that was possible to see that the residents came to Mass. What is remembered by some of the residents whom this author talked with was the sternness of the Fathers who came to the area. However, making people attend Mass was only a small part of a priest's social responsibilities. His responsibility, then, as in many places in Newfoundland today, was that of a resource person who undertook listening to problems, help find jobs, and bring organization. The priests who devoted time to Blackhead Road did so largely out of their own interests and not because of demands made on them by the Church structure. In Blackhead Road, the church has been the only form of continuous and direct outside involvement in the area over the years. By the end of World War II, St. Patrick's had begun a practice of assigning different priests or "curates" to the area to conduct Mass.

In 1954, Father Conroy personally took a great interest in the area. Even after his transfer to another charge in St. John's, he continued his involvement in the area. He continued this involvement until 1960 when he left the country for South America to do missionary work. During the time he spent in the community, he attempted to form a local improvement committee which could approach Government, which instigated a city water survey in the area, and which made many suggestions for improvements in the community. Also towards the end of this period, a chapel was established near the school on Valley Road.

Little more was done in the area until the arrival of Father Shea in 1964. He began his administration by trying to provide bus services to downtown schools for the Roman Catholic children who were too old to attend the local school.

During the 1950's, two other churches, the Anglican Church and the United Church of Canada, became directly involved in the area. For the United Church of Canada, the area came under the jurisdiction of the St. Paul's Mission located at Mundy Pond, an area similar in origin to Blackhead Road, but which lay within the city limits several miles away. The Mission was headed by a lay supply minister. It came under the pastoral supervision of the Wesley United Church in St. John's, and a reverend of that church was called in whenever the services of an ordained minister were needed. In order to justify the full-time pastoral charge of a lay supply minister, the St. Paul's Mission also included Groves Pond, Fort Amherst, and Blackhead Road, as well as Mundy Pond. All of these areas are quite widely separated.

In 1955, this church erected a one room building on the outskirts of the settlement on Blackhead Road. This was used as a school for children up to grade six and as a church and Sunday school. Due to the small number of United Church members in the Blackhead Road area and the lack of any great enthusiasm on the part of its members, the United Church became discouraged. Some attempts were made to organize women's groups but without much success. Moreover, few adults attended church services.

In the meantime, close relations had grown between J. D. Bourn, the lay supply minister and Canon R. R. Babb of the Anglican Church. While

the Anglicans provided a grade school near the foot of the valley for their denomination, some Anglican children did attend the United Church school. The Anglicans attempted more extensively than the United Church to organize activities on Blackhead Road. Due to their discouragement in the area, the United Church closed down their school activities on Blackhead Road in 1964. By and large, this ended the United Church's activities in Blackhead Road although they continued to hold church services until 1965. When the school closed, the St. John's United Church School Board looked for a bus service to take the residents' children, as well as the Anglican children enrolled in their school on Blackhead Road, to downtown denominational schools. A tender was put out but only one application was received. Several bus companies were approached, but all refused on the grounds that the Blackhead Road was either too dangerous or too damaging to their vehicles. The contract, therefore, went to John Hayes, a cab company owner. Though Hayes did not own a bus, he offered to make a down payment on one if he were awarded a five year contract.

The Anglicans, who had more members living in Blackhead Road than the United Church, made their entrance into the community in 1954 under Canon R. R. Babb, the Rector of the St. Mary's the Virgin Parish. Today this Parish consists of two congregations: St. Mary's the Virgin Parish located in St. John's and St. Peter's located on the Blackhead Road. In the 1950's, the Anglicans attempted to organize open air services in the community and also began a clean-up campaign.

Eventually the United Church of Canada and the Anglicans came to an agreement whereby the Anglicans would share the building placed on Black-

head Road by the United Church. In 1964 when the United Church abandoned their school activities, the Anglicans increased their social and religious involvement. In 1967, the building was given the name St. Peter's. In addition, the Anglican Church purchased a large tract of ground near this site and had it cleared for use as a recreation field and as a place to have garden parties.

Unlike the government agencies responsible for the area and which felt called upon to develop long range plans before undertaking much direct action, the churches were able to attempt solutions to ease the immediate urgency of the situation. Nevertheless, the churches were hampered by complicated organizational arrangements and alliances.

In the 1960's, both the Roman Catholics and Anglicans became more involved in the area than before. The Anglicans appointed the Deaconess Payne to attend to the area, organize activities, and visit homes. The Roman Catholics organized the area as a separate administrative unit. On April 3, 1964 Father Leo Shea was appointed administrator, and on January 31, 1968 he became Parish Priest.

These events had an important effect on the community, as will be pointed out later, for, as in most Newfoundland communities, the church is the center of most, if not all, community involvement. In Blackhead Road, the role of the church was further enhanced by the absence of any means of direct municipal involvement and because of the dynamic leadership provided by Father Shea.

Education

In Newfoundland, the discussions of religion and education are hard to separate. This results from the church's traditional involvement with education. Prior to Commission Government in 1932, education was not compulsory, and the Government showed little interest in it. Hence, the churches shouldered the burden often as a missionary ideal. Over the years, their investment in it grew.⁵ With Commission Government, grants were made available to the denominations for education, and school attendance became compulsory. With Confederation, the Government began to take a very active interest in education. The denominational schools became opened up to the public, except in cases where a particular denominational school was so overcrowded that it could not accommodate anyone else or where it was also possible for children from other denominations to travel to a school supported by their own faith. At the present time, the educational system in Newfoundland is in a state of transition. Until 1968, then, three school boards were concerned with Blackhead Road. These were the Roman Catholic School Board, the Anglican School Board, and the St. John's United Church School Board.

The Roman Catholics have steadily increased their facilities throughout the years. Their St. John Bosco School, on Valley Road near its junction with Blackhead Road, was opened in 1933 as a one room affair

⁵During the early years of education in Newfoundland, the measure of accomplishment was considered in "books" rather than in "grade levels". Each book (such as Book One, Book Two, Book Three, etc) was equivalent to a grade level except that the emphasis was on the reader rather than on the over-all academic program. Hence, a pupil in Book Two standing could be less advanced in another subject, such as math, than his fellow students in Book Two.

with only 55 pupils. It was administered by a lay teacher until 1957 when the Presentation Sisters took it over and the School's size was increased. A few years later when the Chapel was built, more classrooms were added as a second story to the Chapel. Between 1963 and 1966, plans were laid to include classes in special education (St. John Bosco Souvenir Book, 1969:7).

When Father Leo Shea became administrator in 1964, he saw the immediate need for a school bus to carry children downtown who were too old to attend St. John Bosco. Up to this time, the children had to hike down the hill to places where they could get city transportation to downtown schools. A request for tenders was submitted to bus companies which might be interested in transporting the children from the community, but these companies charged too much for their services. They claimed that the people of the area would not respect their property and that the roads would be too hard on their vehicles. Hence, Father Shea took it upon himself to find the funds with which the Parish could afford to buy its own bus.

He further set about ways to improve the School. He put forth a great deal of effort negotiating for loans and grants with the Provincial Government and the R. C. Episcopal Corporation. The year 1968 saw the implementation of many of the improvements he sought. These included a large new building with a gym, classrooms, and offices staffed with new qualified teachers and a principal who was a competent administrator. At the same time, the curriculum was broadened and by 1969 included up to grade nine and also a number of specialized courses.

A Finance Committee was formed by Father Shea from the residents of the community, but he continued to bear most of the responsibility and did most of the negotiating. Revenue for the Parish was obtained through church activities. These included bingo, bake sales, and concerts. In addition, the Parish bus was hired out. By 1968, the Parish had increased its number of school buses to two.

As pointed out in the section on religion, the United Church closed its school on the Blackhead Road in 1965 and began bussing their children to downtown areas. Most of the Anglican children who had been attending the United Church School were included. However, a number of Anglican children had not been enrolled in the United Church School. These children were expected to continue walking to St. Mary's School which, in 1964, was located near the easterly end of the community. In this year, St. Mary's Church moved to a new location further away from Blackhead Road on Cragmiller Avenue, and a new St. Mary's School was opened on Waterford Bridge Road. The Anglicans searched for a company to bus their children downtown and, according to Canon Babb, they even approached the City, but met with no success. Finally in 1966, a three-way contract was signed among the St. John's United Church School Board, a bus company, and the Anglican School Board.

In 1968, another agreement was signed by the United Church and the Anglicans consolidating their forces and creating the Integrated School Board. The responsibility for bussing all United Church children and Anglican children fell under its jurisdiction. In addition, this reduced the number of school boards involved in the area to two: the Integrated School Board and the Roman Catholic School Board.

While the Anglicans are not discriminated against should they want to attend the Roman Catholic run St. John Bosco, this, as one administrator pointed out, is probably because they have never been a problem. Space at the School is limited, and should a clamor to attend occur, Roman Catholics would probably be given preference. A small number of Anglican children do, in fact, attend the Roman Catholic run school, but the majority have decided not to do so.

In 1964 when the Anglicans were considering bussing, they conducted a survey among their Blackhead Road congregation. This revealed that the average age for Anglican children commencing grade one was eight years. In addition, they found 24 children between the ages of five and nine not attending school at all. The reasons found for these conditions included distance from school and weather conditions that particularly small children on foot would find very harsh. Two other reasons given were lack of proper food and clothing (St. Mary's Parish, 1964:2). The Anglican study indicated such reasons as "children begin school at a late age", "home conditions unsuitable for homework", "low level of education of parents", and "absenteeism" as responsible for the "backwardness in school grades". They found the average Anglican father had an educational level of grade four, and the average Anglican mother had a level of grade six (Ibid.). While the above statements pertained specifically to Anglican children in 1964 when the survey was done, it is not unreasonable to conclude that the Roman Catholic children faced similar circumstances though perhaps to a lesser degree. No survey of average education for the universal population of the area has ever been made.

Employment

In the past, the great bulk of employment by residents in the Blackhead Road area has been in the unskilled category, e.g., hauling coal or lumber, working as fish cutters, dock workers, and maintenance men. This largely unskilled labor force has depended mostly upon St. John's for its livelihood. Thus, in this respect, the area has come to resemble a suburban bedroom community.

The first relevant figures pertaining to the labor force in Blackhead Road appears in the City Urban Renewal Study of 1961. This study, which dealt with a smaller area than that which was finally included in the actual urban renewal project, counted 399 persons or 28 per cent of the population as comprising the total labor force (Project Planning Associates, 1961:54). Most of these were manual or semi-skilled workers. Eighteen per cent listed their occupation as being longshoreman. A more intensive study of Blackhead Road was conducted for the urban renewal planners in 1965 which included a larger area. This was known as the Interim Report. It counted 525 persons as comprising the labor force. Of these, 16 per cent listed their occupations as longshoreman. The study noted that 14 per cent of the labor force was skilled, while 86 per cent was unskilled. Only eight persons (.01 per cent) were employed in the Blackhead Road area (Project Planning Associates, 1965:8). The problem with the remaining figures in the report as regarding location of employment, age, sex, and skilled or unskilled is that these categories are not clearly defined and are apparently not mutually exclusive. However, one group of figures which can be reconstructed into the form of a table from the text of the report and which are worth considering are the following:

TABLE 3.--The Employment of the Labor Force
of Blackhead Road

<u>Employment standing</u>	<u>Actual number</u>	<u>Per cent of labor force</u>
Regularly employed	200	38.0
Occasionally employed	160	31.0
Unemployable	97	18.0
Unemployed	<u>68</u>	<u>13.0</u>
	525	100%

(Ibid.)

Unfortunately, the figure of 525 which is used to represent the entire labor force in the universal population of Blackhead Road is a poor one because it is not known what criteria were used to include someone in the labor force. Obviously, people who could not be employed were included. The Interim Report describes the category of "unemployable" as comprised of individuals who cannot work because of "sickness" or "family responsibilities which precluded work", but it cannot be determined whether this figure includes just adults of one sex or the other or also includes teenagers. It would appear not to include all adults since the report counts a total of 906 men and women. However, if this is so, then we must ask if housewives with "family responsibilities" were included or were only "some adults" and "some teenagers" included? Since many women in Blackhead Road do work or have worked, the criteria used to include or exclude them becomes of paramount importance. Nevertheless, the figure of 525 is all that is available for this period -- a very important period for Blackhead Road with urban renewal only a short time away.

If one asks almost anyone in Blackhead Road who was the major source of employment for the people of the community, they will tell you:

"Jobs (Jobs -- the name of a local fish plant) me son, everyone worked for them. Even whole families."

This, of course, is not entirely true, but a good percentage of the labor force was dependent on Job Brothers, Ltd. in June of 1967 when the frozen fish plant owned by that firm folded.⁶ According to payroll lists

⁶Throughout its years in business, not all of the workers in the plant were steady help.

of Job Brothers Fish Plant, 212 of their employees were residents of the Blackhead Road area at the time of the closing. If one accepts the total number of the labor force as being 525, as listed in the Interim Report, this accounts for 40 per cent of the labor force in the Blackhead Road area. The 212 from Blackhead Road employed by Job Brothers accounts for more than half (55 per cent) of their plant's labor force. Of the 212, 34 per cent (73) were women and 63 per cent (133) were men (the sex of six individuals could not be determined from their names). Generally, the men worked as cutters, performing jobs in the freezers, and discharging boats, while the women worked as packers.

The figure of 40 per cent may be a low over-all figure for, at this time, Job Brothers was looking for labor from outside the Blackhead Road. Their policy in 1967 was to encourage workers from Foxtrap; Kelligrews, and elsewhere to take positions as vacancies occurred. Job Brothers which was located on the Southside Road and which traditionally from the mid 1950's was an employer of Blackhead Road labor, had become dissatisfied with local residents. With individual workers there was apparently no complaint, but as a group, management came to feel that the labor from Blackhead Road was easily misled and was "too clanish". Untrue rumors spread easily among the workers and, on several occasions, wildcat strikes took place in which, management claimed, the Union sympathized with the firm.

Training leaders among the Blackhead group was also considered to be too difficult. As a consequence, few from this area held positions of any responsibility. This occurred partly as a result of their own choosing

and because they did not possess the necessary skills such as reading, writing, and arithmetic needed to keep records. Generally, it was felt that Blackhead Road workers stuck together, prizing equality within their group; would walk out at any moment in support of one of their neighbors on flimsy rumors; and worked at their own pace and in their own manner rather than that desired by management. Hence, improved and more efficient manufacturing methods became very difficult, if not impossible, to implement from management's point of view.

Jobs closed shop on June 23, 1967. A few months later, a new frozen fish plant opened owned by the Ross Steers Company, Ltd. This plant which employed a wide range of help due to its having larger operations than Job Brothers, managed to remain in business only a few months: October 1967 to January 1968. Ross Steers was aware of the feelings which Job Brothers had toward the Blackhead Road residents but did not follow any official policy of discouraging them since their plant was located further away from Blackhead Road, and they, therefore, did not feel that they had to worry about being saturated with workers from the area. In all, they hired, throughout their few months in business, a total of 158 people from Blackhead or about 30 per cent of the community's labor force. Ninety-seven workers formerly with Job Brothers (or 46 per cent of former Job employees from Blackhead Road) eventually found work with Ross Steers. The rest either remained unemployed or found work elsewhere. The workers who were hired by Ross Steers were not all steady workers. While some employees came and went on their own, dock workers, for example, were often hired as needed.

The salt fish plant did not fold and later became known as Steers, Ltd. Here only a small number of Blackhead Road workers were hired due to the lack of positions. Its management indicated that in 1969, 10 workers from Blackhead Road had been hired, of which six were fairly steady workers and four workers were not considered reliable or were only part time.

Accounted for thus far has been at least 40 per cent of the labor force as dependent upon Job Brothers about a year and a half after the Interim Report was released. Coupled with those classed as "unemployable" and as "working in Blackhead Road", 59 per cent of the labor force has been accounted for. The remaining 41 per cent of the base figure of 525 were found in a varied assortment of jobs. Watchman, cab driver, long-shoreman, or truck driver are not unusual "regular occupations" to the Blackhead Road. Often these tended to be seasonal which means that the categories "unemployed", "occasionally employed", and "regularly employed" could fluctuate. There are no figures available to enable a further breakdown.

While lack of education and the closing of two frozen fish plants presented major barriers to Blackhead Road, there were yet other discouraging forces. To begin, Confederation brought stronger ties between Newfoundland and the mainland of Canada replacing in many ways the United Kingdom as the dominant trading power (Project Planning Associates, 1961: 11). St. John's, on the eastern sea coast of the island, found trade gravitating more and more to the west. Next, it will be recalled that a large percentage of the Blackhead Road labor force was listed in the

Interim Report as longshoremen. In St. John's, as elsewhere along the eastern coast of North America, longshoremen jobs have been declining. Automation has been responsible for some of this together with what management has termed "restrictive measures taken by the Union". Job Brothers, for example, claim that before they closed they could load only 30,000 lbs. of fish an hour in St. John's, whereas in other parts of the Province they could load upwards of 70,000 lbs. an hour. As a result, business has been diverted away from St. John's to such places as Corner Brook and Lewisporte. Then, too, as strikes have occurred in St. John's, business was diverted elsewhere and was never brought back.

Observations and Conclusions

Blackhead Road presents an unusual situation, for while the city line took in two fractional parts of the community prior to the urban renewal project, physically the community is distinct. Set off to one side, Blackhead Road overlooks the entire city. This has contributed to making it socially exclusive. From one vantage point, the community resembles a suburban bedroom community since it is dependent upon its members commuting to the more densely industrialized parts of St. John's. In addition, it is also very dependent upon city sources for education. Residence in the community is considered a permanent affair. While some children have left the community to seek jobs in the United States and mainland Canada, as do an extremely large proportion of all Newfoundlanders, some families date back two or more generations. In addition, the community has developed certain culturally distinct characteristics through,

for example, its folklore which has grown up in the past 40 years (see Appendix C). The folklore of the Blackhead Road is slowly dying out as younger generations have refused to take it seriously, but one still does run across stories passed on from father to son about ghosts and witches.

Like the folklore, the history, too, is dying. Much of it is the result of faulty memories as few records have been kept. Only one resident has taken an aggressive interest in preserving local history. Generally speaking then, history does not play an important part in life except as it may have affected a few individuals in their life spans; e.g., some of the older residents still have pride in the money they raised for soldiers from Blackhead Road in World War II. A few remember a local store owner obtaining a permit from the Canadian Navy to use their access road to bring up supplies when Blackhead Road washed out sometime during World War II. There are, of course, other remembrances but none that provide an over-all accurate picture. Only one or two in the course of this study recalled that the Governor General led a parade of World War I veterans up the Blackhead Road in 1933 or were able to provide the names of priests who visited the area before the 1950's. Nor is there much talk of Father Conroy, whom apparently everyone loved, but now have little recollection of what he did. Similarly, Harry Forristall is all but forgotten, though some do remember his attempts to form a boy's club during the 1930's. However, no one mentioned any of the articles he wrote for the local newspaper called "Jottings From Blackhead Road". None of the church leaders acknowledge any enthusiasm on the part of the residents about the history of their settlement.

As has been shown, life in Blackhead Road was hard. Residents were expected to walk long distances to get to school or to church. In addition, there was no sewage or running water, in 1967 their major source of employment was suddenly gone, and a stigma prevailed about the area. But over the years conditions have been improving especially in the 1960's. The churches have provided the major sources of formal organized activity, and through these churches the community leaders have attempted to do something about the situation. But these attempts have been retarded by the establishment of local government which has never allowed them a direct voice in their own affairs. To some extent, this has contributed to the community's discouragement and frustration. As a collective body, they have never learned how to organize or to express themselves to an outside formal system.

What faces the visitor initially appears to be a completely unified front, friendly toward, but not entirely accepting of the "outsider". "It's just like an outpost", say some of the planners who generally do not support the stigma, but who look upon the area with a certain benevolence.

CHAPTER II

POPULATION CHARACTERISTICS

Background to the Community

In Newfoundland, the term "outport" is a word in common usage and is more often than not filled with a highly personalized and perhaps idealized image of a way of life. Generally, it refers to a small village with little or no communications with other communities except by sea. Here one thinks of poor roads if any exist at all, possibly no access to radio programs, and no telephones (or where telephones exist, they would be of the hand crank variety). "Outport" is also used to convey the thought of a community where people lead very co-operative lives. More specifically, the community to which this term refers is on the sea or at least directly dependent on it. An inland community not dependent upon the sea would not qualify as an "outport" although comparisons might be drawn. Members of such communities usually have a common trade such as fishing, a sense of group survival, a certain amount of community independence and community self-sufficiency, and a sense of simplicity centering about an outlook on life.

Often the Blackhead Road has been referred to by the provincial planners and officials as being "just like an outport", and some of the residents themselves often compare the settlement to an "outport". From conversations with residents, it seemed clear that those most happy with their neighbors and social position were most apt to compare the place favorably with an "outport". In a few respects, Blackhead Road is like an "outport".

Geographically, the community is set apart and little traffic passes through it over the road which leads to Cape Spear. The people are mostly from the same social background and tend to have most of their friends from within the community. Table 4 presents the responses of the 54 home owners when asked where most of their close friends lived.

As can be seen from Table 4, when combining the categories of "St. John's only" and "outside of Blackhead and St. John's area" only 11 (20.3 per cent) of the sample had most of their close friends living outside the Blackhead Road community. While this group did not tend to be younger, they did comprise the newcomers to the area, with their mean average length of residence being 24 years. This is in comparison with a mean of 31 years of residence for those home owners whose close friends were listed as belonging to the area. No significant educational differences were found, and most who listed their close friends as outside the area were, as is most of Blackhead, unskilled labor. However, part of this difference may be explained from the standpoint of involvement with co-workers. Several mentioned to the interviewers that they had close ties with work buddies who did not come from Blackhead Road. For example, one man was a longshoreman whose friends were not from Blackhead while another man was self-employed away from the area.¹

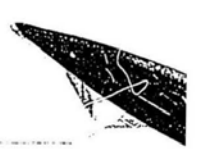
¹Under the category heading of "close friends from Blackhead only", one woman specified that this referred to Mason Road only. In this case, the woman considered no one but her sons who lived nearby as close friends. In one other instance, a man from the valley specified that his close friends were only in "the valley". Under the category "both St. John's and Blackhead", another man specified that, in addition to the Blackhead Road community, his close friends lived on Southside Road only. Finally, in the category "outside of Blackhead and St. John's area", one respondent specified the town of St. Philips.

TABLE 4.--Where the 54 Home Owners Felt Most of
Their Close Friends Lived

<u>Location</u>	<u>Number of sample</u>	<u>Per cent of sample</u>
Close friends from Blackhead only	36	66.6
St. John's only	8	14.8
Both St. John's and Blackhead	4	7.4
Outside of Blackhead and St. John's area	3	5.5
No close friends	<u>3</u>	<u>5.5</u>
	54	100%

Significantly, 66.6 per cent said most of their close friends lived in the community. This may be explained as the result of varying factors: the physical isolation of the community, the rather static growth or decline of the area so that most have lived there for a long time, the efforts of the churches to organize socials and bring services to the area, the effects of some community leaders to organize sports events, the general stigma about the area as perceived by the residents, and because different residents have worked together from time to time. From a combination of the above factors, a set of shared institutions and values has arisen which, in turn, has further facilitated a peer group dependence. Thus, in these ways Blackhead Road does resemble an "outport". In addition, such things as the fact that almost all of the adults know one another by name and the existence of folklore contributes to the image of the community as an "outport".

However, in other respects, the community does not satisfy the requirement of an "outport". To begin, the Blackhead Road is an inland community and is part of an urban area. While the slopes of Southside Hills isolate it, economic ties, educational dependence, and constant exposure to the mass-media have the opposite effect. Essentially, the community serves the purpose of a retreat. The image this has left with some is that there is a common sense of survival in the community because so many are unskilled labor. This is an important aspect of the "outport" idealization. However, in Blackhead Road, this does not appear to be the case as people are employed in a variety of jobs. Instead, if there is any basis for a common feeling of survival, it is more apt to revolve



around maintaining home ownership. In this community, there is also a common pride over the one or possibly two water wells a man may own. Taken together, these two status symbols represent a basic yardstick of achievement by which Blackhead Road people measure their own fortunes in the world. Beyond this, a third common feeling may be said to prevail. This is a sense of defeatism about what they, as individuals or as a group, feel they can further accomplish in the world. It is a feeling that some people in Blackhead Road rationalize about when trying to analyze themselves.

Demographic Aspects

As pointed out in Chapter I, the large majority of the Blackhead Road population migrated from St. John's. However, since the 1930's and 1940's, the area has seen families leave, new ones arrive, and a new generation grow up and own homes.

The average length of residence noted in the City Urban Renewal Study for 1961 was given at 13.7 years. Two other areas in and near St. John's are often used in comparison with Blackhead Road because of their similar origins. These are Mundy Pond and the Battery. When the average length of residence in these areas were considered by the City Urban Renewal Study, Blackhead Road was found to be the youngest (Project Planning Associates, 1961:53). The figures for the present study, taken close to ten years later, indicate that the average length of residence for home owners is 25 years. When home owners and their spouses are considered, the average length of residence rises to 30 years.

Fifty-one per cent (28) of the sample of 54 household owners reported that they had children who had left the community, the total number being 67. The average age of this group is 26.5 years of age. This places them below the average age for the adult population of the area which is 39.9 years of age. Educationally, their mean is 7.6 years, or about that of the community as a whole. In addition, two completed commercial courses and one completed university. Of the 67 children who had left the community, slightly more than half were female (58 per cent).

These children settled in a variety of places with most going to mainland Canada and the United States.²

In comparing the age distribution of the population in this study with the results found in the Interim Report, the findings were similar. A problem, however, arises in reading the table presented in the Interim Report, since unequal intervals were used, and this tends to misrepresent the ages around which large groups of residents cluster. Table 5 presents the age distribution of the sample of home owners selected for study. Clearly 52 per cent of the sample of Blackhead Road is under 18 years of age.³ Youth then is a major characteristic of the area. The

²Fourteen went to Toronto, seven went to Montreal, and four went to other places on the mainland of Canada. Thus, 37.3 per cent (25) went to mainland Canada. An additional nine (13.4 per cent) went to the United States, as many as 21 (31.3 per cent) moved downtown to St. John's, two (2.9 per cent) went to other places on the city's fringe, eight (11.9 per cent) went to other places in Newfoundland away from St. John's altogether, one (1.4 per cent) went to France, and one went to Japan.

³In the 1966 census for St. John's, 44 per cent of the population was under 20 years of age. For the Province as a whole in 1966, 51 per cent was under 20. In the sample, 57 per cent were under 20 (Canada, Dominion Bureau of Statistics. Marital Status by Age Group and Sex, 1968:34-3, 34-46 and 35-11, 35-12).

TABLE 5.—Age Distribution by Sex for the Sample of Blackhead Road
and Those in Their Households -- Total = 287

<u>Age</u>	<u>Males Number</u>	<u>Males Per cent</u>	<u>Females Number</u>	<u>Females Per cent</u>	<u>Population Number</u>	<u>Population Per cent</u>
0-8	32	23.3	43	28.6	75	26.1
9-17	37	27.0	41	27.3	78	27.1
18-26	16	11.6	16	10.6	32	11.1
27-35	13	9.4	10	6.6	23	8.0
36-44	13	9.4	15	10.0	28	9.7
45-53	10	7.2	10	6.6	20	6.9
54-62	9	6.5	8	5.3	17	5.9
63-71	5	3.6	4	2.6	9	3.1
72-80	1	0.7	3	2.0	4	1.3
80-plus	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Don't know	1	0.7	0	0.0	1	0.3

mean age for those under 18 years of age is 8.8 years, and for those 18 years of age or over the mean is 39.9 years. The mean age for the whole area is 23.1 years. The mean age for the male population is 23.9 years of age, and for the female population it is 22.5 years of age. In addition, as can be derived from Table 5, the sex ratio of Blackhead Road is 91 males to every 100 females.

The residents of Blackhead Road, then, are mostly young and of Irish descent, although the Anglican Church has been quick to point out that their flock are of English descent and that it is the "Romans" who are Irish. Generally, growth has been static with the community gaining about as many as it loses. In fact, the population of Blackhead Road is quite stable and is composed of second and third generation people. While the majority of the residents originally came from St. John's, there is a small handful of settlers whose former homes were in other places around the island of Newfoundland.

Education

While some protestant children attend the Roman Catholic St. John Bosco School, most Anglican and United Church parents prefer to send their children to the denominational schools downtown. In the case of the United Church children, these include Curtis Elementary School for kindergarten up to grade six. From grades seven to nine they are bussed to United Junior High School, and from grade 10 to 11 they are sent to Prince of Wales Collegiate.

In the case of Anglican children, the schools attended include St. Mary's on Waterford Bridge Road which handles the school children up to grade six; for grades seven and eight they go to I. J. Samson; Bishop Abraham for grade nine; and finally Bishops College for grades 10, 11, and Commercial. Those not enrolled in an academic program in high school attend St. Michaels for "special education" or vocational training. This is a rather unwieldy system for the Anglicans involving transferring among four schools for those embarking on an academic program concluding with high school graduation in grade 11. For those who attend the downtown protestant denominational schools, a bus has been hired by the Integrated School Board.

This situation arises out of the historical role of the church in education in Newfoundland. The church has traditionally taken most of the responsibility in administrating and providing facilities. Often the direct responsibility for administrating a school was that of the local minister or priest. While, as pointed out in Chapter I, this situation is in a state of transition in the Province, today local ministers or priests are still apt to find themselves with a great deal of administrative responsibility. This is the situation in which Father Shea found himself in 1964 when he was assigned to the community. Under his leadership, the structure of the Parish School began to reshape itself with the hiring of a full-time principal to run the School in 1968. However, Father Shea still maintained authority in policy decisions.

A further major change took place in the spring of 1970. Prior to this time, Roman Catholic School Board members were appointed by the

Lieutenant-Governor in Council (i.e. by the Provincial Government). While this is still officially the policy by law, the Roman Catholic School Board made the decision to elect some of those members who would be recommended for appointment. The Roman Catholic School Board divided its district into four areas. St. John Bosco became a part of St. John's South. Each of the four areas are represented by one member of clergy and one elected layman. From this group, one member of clergy from each area and two elected laymen are chosen to make up the School Board. Blackhead Road's elected layman became Tom Smyth who, we shall see later, is one of the most active members of the community.

With these transitional states in mind, Father Shea set out in 1964 to vastly improve St. John Bosco. In the fall of 1968, elaborate additions were made to the School. By 1969, with the addition of temporary classrooms, the curriculum was extended to include grade nine. Today it has an enrollment of 577 pupils and has 27 classrooms, a large gymnasium, and a staff of 32 teachers. St. John Bosco is one of the best equipped schools around St. John's offering both an academic program and a program in special education.

The special education program includes such things as Home Economics, Arts and Crafts, Industrial Arts, Music, Physical Education, and Beauty Culture. Children are accepted into these programs through I. Q. tests, performance on classroom examinations, and individual profiles. The School also sponsors an active program of extra curricular activities consisting mostly of sports. In addition to this, such things as concerts, dancing instruction, and a Friday night dance are sponsored. Beyond this,

the School is used as a community center by the Church and serves as a place to hold recreational functions. It also makes space available for organizations such as the Boy Scouts and a nursery school modeled after a Head Start Program.

The Head Start Program has been run by the St. John's Club of the Canadian Federation of University Women, who began their program in the spring of 1969. Publicity of the urban renewal project brought the community to their attention, and it was felt by them that more than physical rehabilitation was needed. Their program includes a nursery school which meets Saturday mornings. Two social workers have been involved who are part of this group and who make home visits to involve parents in the program and take note on the child's home situation. In addition, field trips for the children have been organized.

St. John Bosco has also served as a place to launch experimental programs such as providing a place for students to study at night and providing space for adult education classes. In the 1968-1969 school year, adult education classes were tried, but they did not work as planned. At first attendance was good, but as the year progressed, attendance dropped off to the point where classes had to be suspended. Lack of interest in obtaining an education was not given as a reason for this. One of the administrators, as well as the residents who were talked to, pointed out that few questions were ever asked the teacher. With few questions and little clarification, the material went over their heads and the pupils became lost. The residents said that classmates were afraid to ask questions for fear of either asking "stupid" questions or

for fear of saying something which might put them above their peers. A person then who asked too many questions, it was felt, became conspicuous. In addition, some pupils found that they had to miss a number of classes due to late work shifts, and they consequently couldn't make up the missed material.

During the same school year, the School was opened at night to children who wished to do their homework there. A major source of hindrance to education in Blackhead Road has been lack of space at home for children to study. Privacy is at a premium, and there are always many distractions as well as improper space to lay out books and improper lighting. In addition, help from parents in school work is often difficult to obtain because of the low educational standing of the parents. Hence, the high school students offered to supervise this venture. However, order was difficult to keep at times, and the high school students were limited in the amount of help they could give. This program was then discontinued near the end of the school year. A similar program was begun in October 1969. This consisted of bringing in students from Memorial University's Newman Club two nights a week to help students in grades seven to nine with their problems. This became the responsibility of Father Lynch at St. John's College and advisor to the Newman Club. Response to this has been good with as many as 42 children showing up to the first session.

Once the children of St. John Bosco reach grade nine, they are bussed downtown. The boys attend Brother Rice High School and the girls attend Holy Heart of Mary High School. At the same time, ten children

are bussed from the city of St. John's to St. John Bosco to attend special education classes. They are admitted on a first-come-first-serve basis. This is in addition to a number of children bussed up from downtown who are members of families temporarily relocated by the urban renewal program. There are also seven children who are brought to the School by taxi cab through special arrangements from the village of Blackhead.

Within the households sampled, 134 people were 18 years of age and over. Of these, 89 were Roman Catholic, 24 were Anglican, and six were United Church. Table 6 shows the educational grades completed by adults 18 years of age or over according to religion.⁴ Excluding the categories of "university", "no answer", and "don't know", the mean average of education for Roman Catholics is 6.3 years. For Anglicans, this average is 4.7 years; and for the United Church it is 7.5 years.

The mean education of Anglican men is 3.7 years, while for women the mean is 5.6 years. This difference is not prevalent among the other two religious groups. Thus, the mean education is very close between male and female Roman Catholics, and there is the indication that the men are slightly better educated. For Roman Catholic women, the mean education is 6.0 years, and for men it is 6.6 years. Within the United Church group, the mean education for men is 7.0 years, and for women 8.0 years.

⁴Out of 134 adults 18 years of age and over, 42 belonged to religiously mixed families. Of these 42, it was impossible to assess the religion of 14 adults. These 14 were either children, blood relations, inlaws, or friends living in the religiously mixed household. In addition, one respondent was Salvation Army, and, along with the other 14 mentioned above, he was included in the category of "other".

TABLE 6.--Educational Distribution by Grades and Religion for Those
in the Blackhead Road Sample and Those Living in Their
Households who are 18 Years of Age and Over

Grade	<u>Roman Catholic</u>		<u>Anglican</u>		<u>United Church</u>		<u>Other</u>	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
0-2	10	11.2	7	29.1	0	0.0	0	0.0
3-5	21	23.5	6	25.0	0	0.0	3	20.0
6-8	30	33.7	10	41.6	5	83.3	5	33.3
9-11	19	21.3	1	4.1	1	16.6	6	40.0
some university	2	2.2	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
no answer	4	4.4	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	6.6
don't know	<u>3</u>	<u>3.3</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0.0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0.0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0.0</u>
TOTAL	89	100%	24	100%	6	100%	15	100%

Table 7 shows the educational standing by sex of those 18 years of age and over in the sample. Excluding the three categories of "some university", "don't know", and "no answer", the mean education for men is 6.2 years of schooling, and for women it is 6.3 years. This suggests that, generally, the women are better educated than the men. For the sample as a whole, the mean education is 6.3 years.

Already noted in Table 7 is the percentage who went on to university, but additional training beyond high school for adults has not been accounted for. In the sample of 54 home owners, 15 (27.7 per cent) claimed to have training other than what they received in the denominational schools. Of these, 14 were men and one was a woman. Today, five of these people are unemployed and one is a housewife. As many as eight of the 15 did not list their occupations as being anything which related to their extra training. A couple found work in their special field too unsteady, others found it did not pay as well as another unskilled job, and a few found their training irrelevant to getting a job. In two cases, these were men who had been through the army.

The children in school in the community were more difficult to assess than the adults since all information regarding them depended upon the parents' knowledge and memories. Access to school records was unobtainable. However, the 1966 study carried out by the Department of Health at St. John Bosco provides some useful information. In this study, it is noted that the "number of children in school 1965-1966" was 413 (Smith, 1966:Table 7). Table 28 of the Department of Health Study notes the number of children who have repeated grades as related to I. Q. This

TABLE 7.--Educational Grade Distributions by Sex for Those
in the Blackhead Road Sample and Those Living in
Their Households who are 18 Years of Age and Over

<u>Grade</u>	<u>Males</u>		<u>Females</u>		<u>Total</u>	
	<u>Number</u>	<u>Per cent</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Per cent</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Per cent</u>
0-2	11	16.1	6	9.0	17	12.6
3-5	15	22.0	15	22.7	30	22.3
6-8	22	32.3	28	42.4	50	37.3
9-11	13	19.1	14	21.2	27	20.1
some university	2	2.9	0	0.0	2	1.4
no answer	3	4.4	2	3.0	5	3.7
don't know	<u>2</u>	<u>2.9</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1.5</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2.2</u>
TOTAL	68	100%	66	100%	134	100%

table notes that 141 children had repeated grades one through three, 83 children repeated grades four or five, and 76 children had repeated grades six through eight. It is not clear from the table if any of the children in the category "grade six through eight", for example, were also included in any of the other two grade categories. Hence, the total number with a given I. Q. or the total number of repeaters cannot be stated. Even so, taking just the first three grades, which were 141, would account for 34.1 per cent of the whole school population who were listed as repeaters.

Sexton notes that parental occupation and attitude toward school may be crucial as criteria in determining which children go on with their education beyond high school (Sexton, 1965:192). She cites, for example, one study which found that in the

....highest occupational group..., 56 per cent of boys in the lowest I. Q. fifth expected to go to college. In the lowest occupational group...only 9 per cent of boys in the lowest fifth expected to attend college (Ibid.:190).

She also cites another study which found that parents of the working class "....'usually have no conception of college as a goal for their children even though they are very bright'" (Ibid.:193).

While Blackhead Road is comprised of the poorly educated working class, which has undoubtedly had its effect on the aspirations for their children, the large majority hold the conception of university as a goal for their children. Those household owners who had children of high school age or younger (total 41) were asked, "How much education do you feel is necessary for your children?" Table 8 shows the parental aspirations for their children according to the sex of the child. Only 26.8 per cent (11) of the respondents with children of high school age or

TABLE 8.--Parents Aspiration for Child According to Sex of Child⁵

	<u>Respondents Aspiration For:</u>			
	<u>Boys</u>		<u>Girls</u>	
	<u>Number</u>	<u>Per cent</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Per cent</u>
None	0	0.0	3	7.3
Grade School	1	2.4	3	7.3
High School	8	19.5	12	29.2
Trade School	7	17.0	3	7.3
University	<u>25</u>	<u>60.9</u>	<u>20</u>	<u>48.7</u>
TOTAL	41	100%	41	100%

-
- ⁵a) Total number of families in the sample with a child at or below school age was 41.
- b) Grade school is grades one to eight, high school is grades nine to eleven, and trade school includes learning manual skills for boys and commercial courses (e.g., secretarial courses) for girls.

younger had a different aspiration for their daughters than they did for their sons, and in all cases where this occurred, their aspirations for their daughters were lower than for their sons. Of the 73.1 per cent (30) who had the same aspirations for both their sons and daughters, only 3.3 per cent (1) felt that grade school was all that was necessary. In addition, 20.0 per cent (6) felt high school was all that was necessary, 10.0 per cent (3) said trade school, and the majority, 66.7 per cent (20), said university. As regards the category of "university", some of the reactions people had were interesting. Many made the comment that their children should get all the education they could and that there was no limit. One person noted that it was not the amount of education that was important, but how it was used. Another person who had university as an aspiration for both their sons and daughters noted that equality of education between the sexes was important to them.

Over the years, then, educational facilities in Blackhead Road have been improving, although the bulk of this has only occurred within the last ten years. The figures in this study suggest that among the best educated in the community are the adults of the United Church, followed by the Roman Catholics, and then the Anglicans. Further, the women of the community appear, on the whole, to be slightly better educated than the men. This trend is not uncommon in the Canadian labor force (Porter, 1966:156). In addition, those who have gone beyond high school to trade school or university are almost all men. Furthermore, the Blackhead Road appears to contradict the normal trend in low occupational groups as regards their high aspirations for their children. Their difficulties,

historically, do not seem to stem so much from an alienation toward education as from the hardships involved in getting to a school. In this respect, it should be remembered that great improvements have only recently been made at St. John Bosco. At the present time, 11 schools and two school boards serve this tiny area.

Income and Occupation

As noted in Chapter I, a stigma prevails about the area which, in part, presents a picture of shiftlessness. Said one urban renewal administrator connected with the project for less than a year, "The people are very dependent. They don't want to do anything for themselves." In addition, one hears that the area is infested with all manner of social problems. In part, the number of people on welfare has helped create this image. For example, one executive of a construction company doing work in the area was generally bitter about the welfare situation in Newfoundland in an over-all way. He was bothered by the increasing number of welfare recipients in the Province and by stories he had heard of people making more money on welfare than they could by working. His impressions stemmed from associations with his laborers who he generally characterized as coming from the "lowest sectors of society". The Interim Report cited that one-third of all families on the Blackhead Road had received welfare at one time or another during 1965 (Project Planning Associates, 1965:8). However, this statement should be considered with caution for it does not mean that one-third of the families on Blackhead Road were entirely supported by welfare or even that at any one point in 1965 all one-third received welfare.

The total number of people living within the boundaries of the urban renewal project receiving welfare in December 1969, according to the Department of Welfare, was 170. Eighty-five of these people were on long term assistance and 85 were receiving short term assistance.⁶ In comparison, within the sample of 54 household owners, a total of 14 (26 per cent) admitted that they were receiving some type of welfare. Eight of these 14 were receiving long term assistance, and six were receiving short term assistance. An additional six persons in these households were also receiving assistance. Hence, 20 adults were found to be on welfare in the sample. This means that out of the total number of adults 18 years of age and over in the sample (134), 15 per cent were found to be on welfare in the survey. According to the Department of Welfare, 37 men and 48 women from the community were on long term assistance, while 81 men and four women were receiving short term assistance. In the sample, five men and seven women were found to be on long term assistance. While eight men were found on short term assistance, no women in the sample admitted receiving short term assistance. Based on the figures given in the Interim Report for the total number of men and women (906) and the figures provided by the Department of Welfare, 18.7 per cent of adults were receiving welfare in December 1969. These recipients appear to be fairly evenly distributed about the community.

⁶Short term assistance is given to people who are unemployed and others who expect to need assistance for three months or less. Such assistance is granted in kind. Long term assistance is paid to people who expect to need assistance for six months or more. Persons in need of this would include the disabled, unwed mothers, or the retarded.

Long term assistance and short term assistance are not the only forms of assistance found in Blackhead Road. Other forms include unemployment insurance, old age pensions, veterans allowances, and family allowances. However, the term "welfare" is taken to refer only to short term assistance and long term assistance. From the standpoint of the sample survey, assessing welfare income is difficult. In order to determine the validity of answers, each name in the sample had to be checked with a list of welfare recipients provided by the Department of Welfare. Some people who were receiving welfare did not admit to it while others who were not receiving welfare claimed they got it. Much of this stemmed from a confusion over what department their income actually came from. Here, the questionnaire was useful in understanding how people of the area perceive welfare assistance. One man claiming he got an old age pension and a veterans allowance was quick to point out that he got no "outside assistance" and in addition, said that he would not take "lazy money", meaning welfare. Still others conceived of their welfare allowance or old age pension as earned income, and in one instance a man interpreted the family allowance as welfare.

The questionnaire was also useful in pointing to the instability of employment in the area. For example, of the 54 household owners, 20.3 per cent (11) had been employed at one time or another in 1968 but were unemployed at the time of the survey. Forty-two per cent (23) of the sample had found work in both 1968 and 1969, but work was not always steady. Two home owners (3.7 per cent) claimed to have been unemployed in 1968 but had found work at the time of the survey, while 33.3 per cent

(18) claimed to have not had a job in both 1968 and 1969. Of these 18, there were three who were retired and eight who were housewives either widowed or separated from their husbands.

To help ease the unemployment situation in Blackhead when the urban renewal project started in 1968 and to try and involve the people of the area in the project, the construction companies were requested by the planners to utilize local labor as much as possible. By November 1968, 26 people from Blackhead Road had been hired. One year later, as the urban renewal project had picked up momentum, this figure had more than doubled.

At the time of the sample survey, there were three construction companies: Lundrigans Construction, Lincoln Construction, and Babb Construction operating in the community. A fourth company, Maintenance and Mechanical Contractors, were given a subcontract by the Babb Construction Company. Lundrigan's labor force was approximately 80 men of whom 42 were from Blackhead Road. Almost all were unskilled laborers with only seven being hired as heavy equipment operators, and these were truck drivers. Lincoln Construction hired no machine operators from the area. Their common labor force of 28 was approximately 70 per cent (20) from Blackhead Road. Babb and Maintenance and Mechanical Contractors had a total labor force of eight. Maintenance and Mechanical Contractors hired no one from Blackhead Road, while Babb hired three from Blackhead Road and two from the village outport of Blackhead. According to the construction companies, their failure to hire machine and heavy equipment

operators from the local population is due to the lack of skills to be found in the area.

While it can be seen (using the base figure of 525) that approximately 12.3 per cent (65) of the community's labor force were employed by the construction companies, this, too, is an unstable situation. Construction work is seasonal; thus there were many layoffs when the construction companies shut down for the winter. Moreover, as work is eventually completed on the project, many of the employees will find themselves once again without jobs. In addition, there has been some unrest in the project; and management has, from time to time, become discouraged with the employees. This has resulted in some layoffs and firings.

Two of the three construction companies expressed discouragement with their Blackhead Road employees. An executive of one company said the people were clanish and very independent. He claimed that the people do not want to work. He argued that there are only two kinds of workers, "the fellow who doesn't have enough unemployment stamps and the guy downtown paying rent". He noted that in winter many would not show up for work. However, during the good weather he appraised Blackhead Road workers as reasonably dependable.

An executive of another construction company noted that the people's pride and interest in their work was the lowest he had ever seen. He further complained that drunkenness on the job was not unusual. Sympathetically, he noted that the people have "aggravating and grave social problems".

An executive of the third construction company noted that Blackhead Road workers were "the best they've had" and that other contractors have inquired as to where they came from.

Considering then the people's position with social assistance and the construction companies, income in Blackhead Road must be considered unstable. In addition to seasonal employment, other conditions contribute to the instability of "earned" income such as part time employment, incomes which may rise or fall with the market, and family allowances which change as critical birthdays are reached and as children 16 and 17 drop out of school. Also, rents collected by the few landlords in the area are sometimes collected sporadically and in varying amounts.

Renters in the area are sometimes difficult to establish since they can include a relative paying rent to his nephew when the nephew can collect it or a friend staying in someone's home and performing odd jobs. In some cases, the man who performs odd jobs is considered by the people he stays with to be a renter or boarder while in other cases he may not be so considered.

Another aspect affecting the people's employment situation is transportation. While the community may be a pleasant walking distance from the harbor on sunny days for some, for others braving the steep inclines of Southside Hills during cold, rainy, and snowy weather can be prohibitive. Even in good weather, this can be the case for small children, the aged, or anyone in poor physical condition. The sample showed that slightly more people with automobiles had jobs than those without cars.

But on occasion even with a car, the slopes can become impossible should there be a washout.

The unstable state of affairs in income in Blackhead Road has, for the most part, arisen out of low educational achievement and lack of available jobs, particularly for unskilled workers. An average income may not, therefore, be counted on to be representative of the area for use as a projection into the future. This creates problems for the urban renewal planners who were counting on some residents to make improvements to their own homes and has also contributed to a feeling of uncertainty on the part of many residents which, in turn, is reflected in the community as a whole.

The sample survey found that for the year 1968, 86 adults (65.1 per cent) 18 years of age and over directly received some kind of income.⁷ Of the 86 adults who received some kind of income for the household, 51 (58.3 per cent) were known to have had "earned" income at one time or another during the year. Of the 51 who had "earned" income in 1968, four were women and 47 were men. In 47 cases, the amount of the "earned" income was reported. Hence, the mean income for those with "earned" income in 1968 was found to be \$3,238. Their median "earned" income was \$3,000. The incomes covered a range of from \$300 a year to \$8,000. Thus, many who had "earned" income sometime during the year also collected from

⁷In two instances, the ages of the individuals were unknown. Hence, they could neither be accounted for in the adult or in the minor categories. The figure of 65.1 per cent is figured on 132 adults rather than 134, the total number of adults in the sample. In addition, three minors (17 years of age or younger) were found to have earned income.

other sources such as short term assistance or unemployment insurance.⁸ A further observation, on the basis of the above data, is the impact of unemployment especially among females in recent times. It should be recalled from Chapter I that 34 per cent of Job Brother's labor force in 1967 were women.

Initially, a classification system was chosen in order to assess the type of employment in Blackhead Road (Ostry, 1967:49). This scheme divided the types of employment into five categories: white collar, blue collar, primary occupations, transportation, communication, and service. While a tiny handful of clerks and salesmen who would fall under the white collar category do live in the community, all of the people sampled fell into two other categories. These two categories are blue collar and primary occupations. Moreover, this also includes information on their fathers and fathers-in-law. Of the home owners, only one was employed in a primary occupation, and all of the rest were blue collar workers. With regard to the home owner's father and father-in-law, a number were of the

⁸Reliable figures for the other sources of income could not be obtained for a variety of reasons: 1) the respondent's inability to clearly differentiate the sources of the various types of income, 2) the respondent's inability to recall all the sources of income received by all the members of his household, 3) their inability to remember the amounts of the different sources of income throughout parts of the year, and 4) the respondent's unwillingness to disclose his income. Two cases in point are one man who thought the federal family allowance was welfare and another man who said he received welfare but was not on the welfare rolls.

While it was possible to find out the exact short term and long term assistance incomes for December 1969, it was not possible to get the figures for 1968 which were needed to accurately calculate the yearly income. Moreover, figures from the various departments for other types of government assistance were not readily available.

blue collar and primary occupation groups.⁹ Of the primary group, the only occupations found were fisherman, miner, and farmer. Because of the number encompassed in the blue collar category, this author proceeded to break this down into two more categories: skilled and unskilled.¹⁰ Out of 54 home owners, there were only nine (16.6 per cent) skilled workers (one man was of the primary occupation group). There were 68.3 per cent who were found to be unskilled. In comparison, the Interim Report found 14 per cent of the labor force to be skilled (Ibid.). The basis of its classification system is not known and may have included under "skilled" or "unskilled" some of the occupations included here as primary occupations.

There appears to have been little upward occupational mobility by home owners when compared to their fathers or fathers-in-law.¹¹ In the over-all picture, 35 per cent (19) of home owners remained unskilled when their fathers were unskilled. Sixteen were male and three were female. In only five situations did the home owner improve over his father. Four were men and one was a woman. Tables 9A and 9B show, according to sex of the home owner, a comparison of the home owner's trade skills with those of his father.

⁹Blue collar includes such occupations as manual skills, tradesmen, and laborers. Primary occupations include farmers, fishermen, miners, loggers, hunters, and trappers.

¹⁰In the following discussion, primary occupations are considered as skilled.

¹¹In four instances, there was a female home owner who had no occupational standing except as a housewife. In these instances, they were considered to be unskilled.

TABLE 9 A and B.--The Skill of the Home Owners Compared
with the Skill of Their Fathers¹²

A.-- Unskilled Home Owner

		<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Per cent</u>
		<u>Number</u>	<u>Number</u>	
Father	Unskilled	16	3	35.0
	Skilled	<u>17</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>33.3</u>
	TOTAL	33	4	68.3

B.-- Skilled Home Owner

		<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Per cent</u>
		<u>Number</u>	<u>Number</u>	
Father	Unskilled	4	1	9.2
	Skilled	<u>4</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>7.4</u>
	TOTAL	8	1	16.6

¹²Eight (14.8 per cent) could not be determined

From the sample, it may be seen that about as many remain at the same level of their fathers, as show a tendency to change up or down. The first major trend, which is apparent from the previous two tables, is for home owners with unskilled fathers to remain unskilled themselves. This is followed by a second trend to change to a level below the father. In other words, as many as 33.3 per cent of home owners with skilled fathers were themselves unskilled. These two trends together account for 68.3 per cent of the householders sampled.

In most cases, the female spouse of a home owner married a man who, like her father, was also unskilled. Where her father was skilled, she was most likely to marry down to a man who was unskilled.¹³ These two trends are similar to the above mentioned patterns in employment from first generation to second generation. One reason for this trend for females to marry unskilled husbands is the unavailability of other types of men in the community. This is due, in part, to the downward trend in employment in the area.

In summary, the types of unskilled occupations which currently exist in the Blackhead Road include cab driver, truck driver, truck helper, janitor, common laborer, longshoreman, stevedore, handyman, and watchman. By far the most frequent are longshoremen and stevedores who account for 24 per cent of home owners. In the skilled category, there are masons, mechanics, and carpenters.

¹³In only four cases did women in the households of the sample marry someone who was skilled when her father was unskilled. In three cases, women with skilled fathers married men who were skilled. In two cases, the persons under consideration were single, and eight cases could not be determined.

Income in Blackhead Road is often unstable and comes from a variety of sources. The situation seems to have been made acute with the closing of Job Brothers and Ross Steers. Moreover, while part of this picture may result from an individual's lack of motive to work hard at certain jobs and from transportation problems, the main factor appears to be the unavailability of either full or part time work. Undoubtedly, this situation is greatly aggravated by the lack of skills in the area and by the lack of job training facilities near at hand.

It was noted in Chapter I that the area depends almost exclusively on St. John's for jobs, and the secondary and service industry on which this city is based are particularly sensitive to any rise or fall in the country's over-all economic situation. Further, the type of occupation for which a great many in Blackhead Road are familiar is disappearing as in the case of longshore jobs. This occurs as Newfoundland's economy turns its face away from the East and Europe and toward the West and Canada. Moreover, unskilled labor, as is found in the community, is today the least in demand. For 1965, the Interim Report found the mean income to be \$2,340 and the median income to be \$2,250 (Project Planning Associates, 1965:8). The Interim Report concluded that this was "probably" the lowest in St. John's in 1965. In comparison with Mundy Pond and the Battery, it was the lowest average income.

Today, the situation has changed. Though some have found work with construction companies operating in the area, it is unlikely that they will be retrained when the urban renewal project is completed.

Housing

Most of the people live in homes built by themselves, their fathers, or by the original owners of the house. Table 10 shows the number of people who bought their homes, the number who built their own homes and indicates the help which they had in building it.

Three conclusions are evident from the following table. First, that more than half of those who built their own homes had help in doing it. Second, as many as one-quarter who built their own homes did it alone. Third, less than half of the homes in the community were not built by their present owners.

Houses range in size from one room to one huge house, which this author was told had 14 rooms. The typical home in Blackhead Road has four or five rooms and no corridors. It usually consists of two or three bedrooms and a combination kitchen and dining room. In some instances, there is a combination kitchen-dining room-living room. In Blackhead, the kitchen is the center of social life in the house, as is the case in the "outports". This stems from the fact that the kitchen is often the warmest room in the house and unless a family can afford an extra heating source, the kitchen stove, most often an oil stove, is the only source of heat. It is usually adequate as most homes are small. In 1966, it was concluded by the urban renewal planners that only 17 out of the 369 houses had a floor space area of over 1,000 square feet. "...234 of them have a floor area of 600 feet or less,..." (Project Planning Associates, Part I, 1966:6). However, it was found that 62 per cent of the housing stock did comply with or was within 10 per cent of complying with minimum floor space as established by the National Building Code.

TABLE 10.--Origin of Houses Occupied by Persons
in the Sample

	<u>Number</u>	<u>Per cent</u>
House built by present owner		
with help of immediate family only ¹⁴	5 (15.6)	
with help of other relatives only	6 (18.7)	
with help of relatives and friends	7 (21.8)	
with help of paid carpenter	1 (3.1)	
with help of spouse only	5 (15.6)	
working alone	<u>8 (25.0)</u>	
Total houses built by present owner	32 (100%)	59.2
House built for present owner by another person	3	5.5
House purchased by present owner	15	27.7
Other ¹⁵	3	5.5
No answer	<u>1</u>	<u>1.8</u>
TOTAL	54	100%

¹⁴Immediate family includes father, mother, son and/or his wife, and daughter and/or her husband.

¹⁵This category includes gifts, etc.

In 1965, it was found that the crowding ratio was 1.27 people per habitable room (Project Planning Associates, 1965:5). This was in contrast to the crowding ratio in the area of 1.36 in 1959.

All of the houses are wood frame, and most lack basements or concrete foundations. Wooden posts are the most common foundation (Project Planning Associates, Part I, 1966:1). In addition, most lack bathrooms, outhouses, and any type of running water or plumbing. The typical arrangement is to collect body waste into pails. Since the urban renewal project, the area has had regular night soil collection by a truck. The idea for this service originated with the health authorities. They found that residents were hiring local teenagers to cart away pails of body waste. If they could afford to do this, it was reasoned, perhaps they could partly afford truck collection. In 1967, the Metropolitan Area Board was authorized to deal with the matter. Despite this, necessity or personal choice has demanded the dumping or burying of some of it today. Another type of arrangement not so common is for a home owner to have an indoor toilet with a pipe extending from the toilet to a bucket underneath the house. Only a few have septic tanks. A few houses do have electric pumps attached to their private wells which give them running water. Almost all of the homes have electricity and many have telephones.

Garbage collection is provided by one local resident for a nominal fee, but some residents still continue to dump, bury, or burn their garbage. One respondent when asked by the interviewer if he had any sewage facilities answered affirmatively. However, when the interviewer inquired as to what these facilities were, the respondent replied, "the river".

Water for cooking and washing is usually collected from wells and boiled. More recently, with the introduction of urban renewal and the subsequent destruction of many wells by blasting, a water truck has supplied the area. Water is collected and stored in buckets or pails and rationed until the next delivery.

Baths are a rare thing in Blackhead Road, except perhaps in the summer when, as several residents have commented, you can go swimming in nearby ponds. Washing is usually done by use of a wet cloth soaked in a bucket.

While it can be seen that living conditions in Blackhead Road are poor and have presented a picture that has scared the Health Department, it is a situation with which the community, under the leadership of their respective churches, has been trying to deal. The solution to their problems, as seen by community leaders, would be the extension of basic services to the area. This is a need of high priority that the urban renewal project proposes to satisfy. Hence, in the beginning, the project was warmly welcomed.

The project's scope, however, goes beyond merely providing services; and when it began imposing housing standards, it became a major source of irritation. In part, this irritation developed when it was discovered that public housing was slated for some of the people in the area. Home owners were particularly vocal against it for fear of losing their security in home ownership. However, in addition to this, there was another issue. Many Blackhead Road people see a stigma directed against public housing in its present form throughout St. John's.

As poor as much of the housing in the community is, by middle-class standards, the people of Blackhead Road have a pride in home ownership. This is evident from the way homes are kept very clean, from the upkeep, repairs and improvements made. In a strict sense, then, the area may not be considered to suffer from "blight". Behind all of this, many feel that they own a home "the same as anyone on Elizabeth Avenue", a St. John's middle-class housing district. The impression held of such districts is that the people are in debt with mortgages, and the people in Blackhead take comfort in the knowledge that they owe nothing. In addition, while their houses are of poor quality by middle-class standards, to them this is "home". The people of Blackhead built their homes, own them, and have security in them.

Health

To date, we have looked at a caseworker's report from the Department of Public Health and Welfare in Chapter I, described the general housing conditions, and taken a look at the garbage and sewage disposal arrangements.

Also noted has been that this situation has worried the health authorities, and it has also been seen in some detail the way in which both the people and the Government have tried to deal with the situation in Blackhead Road. In order to obtain more specific information on conditions in the community, a caseworker from the Department of Welfare, the public health nurse assigned to the area, the chief health inspector, and the chief medical officer were interviewed. The health study con-

ducted at St. John Bosco by the Department of Health in 1966 was also consulted.

In statistical terms, the health situation is not readily discernable.¹⁶ This is due to a lack of any studies done on the community as a whole. To date, only one study has been conducted on the children of St. John Bosco. A second study to be carried out on children is planned by the Head Start Program for the spring of 1970 and will deal with those enrolled in their Program. In addition, the community makes up only a part of the boundary area for health officials working in the southern part of St. John's; hence, any statistics for Blackhead Road are combined with other people throughout the district.

Like the Department of Welfare, then, the Department of Health does not have boundary areas which coincide with the Blackhead Road community, and different specialists from each of these departments serve the area. Moreover, many of the records are kept for only a few years.

Generally speaking, the health of the population has progressed as science has progressed and as new techniques and services have been introduced by the Province. One of the most recent introductions has been Medicare (M.C.P.), which is a Province wide form of socialized medicine.

Up until 1969, the public health nurse, an employee of the Province, made the majority of sick calls for minor ailments in low-income areas such as Blackhead Road. In addition, a doctor was kept on the staff of the Health Department until August 1969. His job was to make calls on

¹⁶At the writing of this study, a general study of health in the community is being carried out by the staff of the new medical center in the area.

more serious cases and to make referrals to other doctors. The public health nurse also acted as a part time school nurse at St. John Bosco. Today she is still responsible for immunizing babies against such diseases as tetanus, whooping cough, and polio under certain conditions. Otherwise, this is the responsibility of the Child Welfare Association. The responsibilities of these two organizations are in some ways very similar and have caused, on occasion, a duplication of services.

With the introduction of M.C.P., sick calls by the public health nurse were cut to a minimum and in some areas of the Province done away with altogether as people were encouraged to contact private doctors of their own. In this matter, Blackhead Road has presented a special problem. The public health nurse still makes sick calls there because doctors are reluctant to visit the area. According to the public health nurse assigned to the area, there appears to be three reasons for this: 1) Blackhead Road is further away from facilities than other areas such as Mundy Pond or the Battery, 2) the roads are poor, and 3) the homes are not next to each other and everything is spread out. This situation is aggravated by the lack of any specific addresses for the homes in the area. Hence, in order to locate a specific family, one must depend upon the asking of directions and on a general description of the home and its relative location. A fourth consideration is that many doctors prefer that their patients come to them in place of their making house calls. As regards Blackhead specifically, some residents also perceive a prejudice against them through the tone of voice or comments made by physicians at clinics which they attend. However, in recent months, the

picture regarding health services to the community has begun to improve. First, Father Shea invited a physician into the area in December. He then held a clinic at St. John Bosco several times a week. Second, Memorial University's new Medical School is planning to set up a health center in the area. This is expected to open in the late summer or fall of 1970.

Blackhead Road does not vary greatly from other areas insofar as the assignment of a public health nurse is concerned. General policy has been to give the women experience in various districts by transferring them periodically. However, in addition to this, contact with a single public health nurse in the community has been unstable. Specifically regarding Blackhead Road, it was summarized by a public health nurse that nurses for the community rarely served longer than a year. Three reasons which were given for this are: 1) the women sometimes find better positions and leave, 2) sometimes the women get married and leave, and 3) Blackhead Road is usually assigned to a woman who does not own a car. Often when she does purchase a car, she is reassigned. The reason for this is that the Department prefers to have the worker use her own vehicle to make calls. Since it is felt that the road conditions in Blackhead are too rough for the average automobile, the Department provides a jeep for the worker assigned to the area. For economic reasons, then, a woman who does not have a car may be assigned to the departmental vehicle and the area which goes along with it.¹⁷ Here the new paved

¹⁷This is not a completely rigid rule, and the Department has assigned women to the area and allowed them the use of the Department jeep when the women have owned their own cars. This may result from the rotating basis of assignment to give a woman some experience in the area.

roads which urban renewal will install will have an important influence as will the new medical center proposed for the area.

Since the inception of M.C.P., the public health nurse noted that she now received 15 or 16 sick calls a week. Calls were more frequent before M.C.P. Complaints usually involve minor pains, colds, and diarrhea. In addition, she receives a few psychiatric calls mostly concerned with psychosomatic ailments. She noted that she sees a lot of people with nervous conditions. The most frequent symptoms here are tiredness or headaches. Colds are reported to be quite frequent and occasionally have developed into pneumonia or bronchitis. There have been no cases of T. B. in recent years, and she has seen few cases of influenza. (In addition, the urban renewal social worker reports that she has seen cases of influenza.)¹⁸ Impetigo and scabies are seen more frequently in the area than in St. John's, although the public health nurse did not consider it to be a major problem. The public health nurse was reluctant to say she had run into any cases of malnutrition, although three years previously, the Department of Health study at St. John Bosco found evidence that it did exist. Also, the public health nurse found few cases of intestinal ailments, except for vomiting and diarrhea.

The public health nurse has 15 families whom she regularly visits in the community. Among these, she noted that one was for diabetes, one was for emphysema, two households contained retarded children, and one was

¹⁸The public health nurse was extremely reluctant to state that there were many cases of malnutrition or influenza since final diagnosis must rest with a physician. She did note, however, that the dietary standards in the area were poor.

for a case of child neglect which occurred before her arrival in the last five months. The case of child neglect has presented no problem since she has been there. Moreover, the Department of Health has noted that there is no problem in the area with rats, mice, or any vermin. There were also no complaints about vermin or rats from any of the residents talked to in this study. These observations constitute great improvements over the past ten years.

One health official noted that acute respiratory diseases in small children, particularly during the winter, probably accounted for the bulk of all calls. The prevalence of colds and flu was supported by the welfare caseworker and the urban renewal social worker. However, the urban renewal social worker was of the opinion that many of the adults suffer from ailments but will not admit to them.¹⁹

Neither the public health nurse or the welfare caseworker noticed alcoholism as a major problem in the area, although there are a few cases. It should be understood here that a number of men in the area use it frequently as a form of relaxation. In fact, it could be said that some of them drink heavily, but "alcoholism", as the term is used here implies extreme dependence.

The caseworker from the Department of Welfare emphasized that she found many nervous or character disorders. Typical among these was an

¹⁹The urban renewal social worker's educational qualifications are in Education. Those of the welfare caseworker are in Psychology, and the public health nurse is a Registered Nurse with one year post graduate study in public health nursing at a university which offers a public health diploma course.

inability to "function for tomorrow". She estimated that of the 92 persons receiving welfare in or around the Blackhead Road urban renewal project, 20 married and 32 single people were mentally, socially, or physically incapacitated.²⁰ Ten were unwed mothers, 20 were widows or widowers, nine were separated, and one was divorced.

Information obtained from the Department of Child Welfare shows that for the month of December 1969 there were no cases of child neglect reported and there were no unmarried parents who required any services from them (e.g., finances or child care). No one was placed in a foster home in the area, but one Blackhead Road family did adopt a child, and three possible adoptions by families in the area are currently under consideration. There were no "parents with children in care". This last category includes children whose parents no longer want them or who have to be taken out of the home because of brutality or neglect.

The health study of 1966 conducted on children at St. John Bosco concluded that the area was an average one for its social and economic background. This would indicate dental, some malnutritional, and visual handicaps.

There were a few children with dry, brittle hair, dry skin with perinasal soborrhea; and many with poor postures due to muscle laxity or fatigue. These may be due to malnutrition but equally may be due to a lack of rest and physical education.... About 10% of the children were found to have chronic otitis media and/or hearing defects, and the same would probably be true in other schools.... (Smith, 1966: 5, 6).

²⁰Eighty-five of the 92 on her caseload were found to be living within the boundaries of urban renewal.

The study discovered a large number of minor defects and concludes:

However, some of these conditions would have been treated earlier or more effectively had the people come from a different socioeconomic group and had a higher level of expectation and utilization of medical care (Ibid.:6).

The only finding in the Department of Health study which was considered unusual was that:

In general the range of I. Q's were lower in the younger children than in the older ones (Ibid.:7).

The study noted further that the opposite is usually found in children from socioeconomically deprived areas.

The study found few of what it called "multi-problem families" in the area. The four families classed as "multi-problem" were families who have refused to co-operate with the School, any outside agencies, and the health study. The study found 22 families which were classified as families where "irregularities at home exist". This category consisted of families where there was a single parent because of death, desertion, or a jail sentence.

However, in the opinion of the public health nurse, the majority of the families in the community may be classified as "multi-problem". The criteria for this would include those families where speech problems exist, where there are low I. Q's, various physical ailments, families where the husband must periodically leave home to look for work, and homes where discipline problems with children exist.

Historically, the sanitary conditions of the Blackhead Road have been depressing. Accounts of some of these conditions exist in the files of the Department of Health. As late as 1966, there are descriptions of

the residents hiring teenagers to carry away buckets of human waste, of the privies built over the river on Valley Road, and of garbage being dumped in back yards and by the roadside. In addition, as late as December 1968, the Department of Health noted that a large proportion of the water wells in the area were unsatisfactory for drinking purposes.²¹ Many of the wells were susceptible to pollution by surface drainage. In spite of these facts, the Department of Health finds it difficult to explain why Blackhead Road was almost unaffected by the polio epidemic of 1959 and the infectious hepatitis epidemic of 1967. One explanation put forward is that somehow the people may have developed immunities to such diseases through their way of life.

In conclusion, it may be said that at this time only a fragmented picture of the health situation in the area exists. An assessment of this picture leaves the impression that health conditions are generally poor but not alarming when the area is compared with other communities existing under similar conditions. It would also appear that these conditions have been improving and will be helped greatly with the installation of new roads, the establishment of a medical clinic, and the inception of M.C.P. Moreover, the prevalence of nervous disorders would seem to be confined largely to those receiving welfare, who represent the most depressed group in the community.

²¹Of 29 sampled water wells, only 14 per cent (4) were satisfactory, 14 per cent were doubtful, and 72 per cent (21) were unsatisfactory.

Crime

The Blackhead Road community is regularly patrolled by the R.C.M.P. As with the Departments of Health and Welfare, the R.C.M.P. regards the community as part of a much larger area. Two detachments of the R.C.M.P. cover the area: the St. John's Highway Patrol and the St. John's Detachment. The latter covers all of the metropolitan fringe area outside the city and is responsible for attending to any criminal complaints. Area 19, which pertains to Blackhead Road, includes the area from the city line to Cape Spear.

No figures regarding the crime rate in the area have been compiled. However, a report submitted by the Sergeant of the St. John's Detachment at a meeting in the community September 17, 1969 revealed that the Blackhead Road only accounted for two per cent of the R.C.M.P.'s calls. Most of the calls centered around complaints about dogs, the roads, or minor crime. The opinion of the head of the Detachment is that the crime in the area, or what there is of it, has been overpublicized. He regards Blackhead Road as one of the "quieter" areas.

Information obtained from the probation officer for juveniles coming from the area shows that in December 1969 no females were on probation but three males were. One was for a crime committed in St. John's, one for being beyond parental control, and one was for stealing some copper from a construction company doing work in the community. In contrast, the Department of Health study noted five children "taken to law" in 1966 (Ibid.:5).

In the eyes of the residents themselves, the area is quiet. Eighty per cent (43) of the home owners in the sample felt there was not much

crime in the community, 11 per cent (6) felt the area was no worse than anywhere else, and only nine per cent (5) felt that there was much crime. Of this last group, the complaints largely centered around petty crime by teenagers, and one complaint was made against people from St. John's coming up to cause trouble. From all of this, it may be concluded that there is little actual or perceived crime in the area. One R.C.M.P. officer volunteered his own observations that while the area presents few problems for the R.C.M.P., the people are apt to take care of many of their own problems should they see a local person breaking the law.

Opinions expressed by the residents towards the R.C.M.P. are often mixed or are vague and general. Two opposing comments commonly made are, "you never sees 'em" and "they is alway on the job". One man noted that officers are stationed in the area for so short a time that they often do not know their way around. Houses are spread about and there are no addresses. Other comments include, "they is always courteous", "they patrol the area efficiently", "they is afraid of the area", and "they are only in the area when there is some social reason".

Overwhelmingly, the residents were in favor of the R.C.M.P. In the sample, 75.9 per cent (41) of the home owners felt that the R.C.M.P. gave the area good service. Only 16.6 per cent (9) felt that they gave bad service, while four people expressed no opinion. It may be useful to note that of those who favored the R.C.M.P. (14), only 15 per cent had had reason to call them, while of those who were dissatisfied (9), almost half had reason to call them.

Where complaints have been made against the R.C.M.P., they are usually directed against the system and procedures which bind them. The opinion, for example, that they "side" with urban renewal has been expressed by some. One man who felt that service to the area by the R.C.M.P. was good qualified his comment when he thought about urban renewal. There have been some obstructions of the work in the area by the residents and, as a consequence, the Urban Renewal Office has called for police help. Some of these obstructions were by residents who misunderstood their position under the provincial expropriation laws and were annoyed with the construction companies. These people have done what they did with a feeling that the law would be on their side. Hence, when a stranger or an eminently neat outsider was called in to enforce the wishes of "them", suspicions developed. This has placed the R.C.M.P. somewhat in the middle for, as we shall see, the construction companies also have complaints.

In unstructured interviews, a few people have expressed frustration with the police. They say that if you call the R.C.M.P., they will not do anything. The R.C.M.P., on the other hand, say that before they can do anything they need evidence that a crime has been committed. The best example of this type of situation was related by a church official connected with the area. "The R.C.M.P. won't break into a house to stop a marital battle", he said. He claimed, "The local police will (rush in) without asking questions." He went on to say that he felt the R.C.M.P. were afraid to do anything in the area. "Hit one", he said, "and you hit them all". Last he pointed out that some parents threaten their children

with police action if they do not behave, and this serves to damage the policeman's image.

What is particularly interesting is his and other residents' reference to the "local police". This is a reference to the St. John's Constabulary who, for the most part, have no jurisdiction in the area. Prior to urban renewal, there were two small areas of the community inside the city limits over which the St. John's Constabulary exercised authority. The first area encompassed a part of the lower section of Blackhead Road near Southside Road. Since urban renewal, the houses in this tiny stretch have either been moved outside the city limits or have been demolished. The second area is in the eastern part of the settlement where, in Chapter I, it was pointed out that Valley Road looped through the city line.

"The local police are not afraid", said the church official, "they understand the people". In other words, they are local Newfoundlanders, and in one case there is a resident in the community who is a member of the force. According to this testimony, they are apt to be treated with less social distance than the R.C.M.P. and have apparently informally answered calls to the area.²² The questionnaire found that most people were favorable to the Newfoundland Constabulary, though some were confused over the Constabulary's role in the area. When the interviewers probed, some residents denied that the area came under the jurisdiction of the city police at all. Others did not know what areas in Blackhead Road for which the Constabulary was responsible.

²²The R.C.M.P. follow a standard policy of not assigning their officers for duty in their resident Province. In local terms, then, the R.C.M.P. are "mainlanders".

In contradiction to the claims that the Blackhead Road is not crime ridden stand the accusations of two of the three construction companies currently in the community. Company "A" complains of a \$30,000 loss through theft, while Company "B" claims close to a \$10,000 loss, and Company "C" claims no theft has occurred to them. Company "A" felt that the theft and vandalism, for the most part, could be attributed to local resentment against the urban renewal project. In one executive's view, the people may not like what they perceive as the mishandling of land expropriation.

Company "B" claims that local hoodlums are responsible as well as people who wish to sell or use such items as copper tubing, batteries, fuel, and lumber.

Both companies have complained numerous times to the R.C.M.P. However, as one company executive pointed out, the people will not tell on their neighbors so there are no witnesses. Few have ever been caught so the R.C.M.P. cannot make any arrests. He also expressed frustration with local watchmen who, he feels, let thefts happen and with the R.C.M.P. who, he feels, are not doing enough. He noted that he has just about given up calling the R.C.M.P.

The R.C.M.P. note that complaints to them by the construction companies have been lessening. The truth of these accusations cannot be accurately assessed here. Some residents suggest that the construction companies may hope to gain by inflating the amount of theft beyond what it may actually be. Moreover, while some theft has occurred, it is not conclusive that all of it has been done by residents.

There is indication that stories of theft committed by the residents of Blackhead Road tend to get exaggerated. One such story concerns an incident that took place about ten years ago. It deals with the tapping, by some residents, of one of the oil pipes leading down the slopes of Southside Hills which belongs to British American Oil. This is one of the companies that has a tank farm adjacent to the eastern boundary of the community.²³ The story goes, "There was free oil fuel for everyone"; and that when the oil company found about this, a policy of draining the oil pipes each night was established to prevent any future vandalism. British American, when contacted, acknowledged the story with some amusement. They noted that only a few residents had been involved. They stressed that this was the only incident they have ever had with the residents and that the actual reason for draining their pipes was not because of a fear of theft, but because of a fire ordinance which came into effect after a catastrophe suffered by another oil company.

In summary, then, in the eyes of both the law enforcement officials charged with the area and the residents, there is little crime in Blackhead Road. Generally, people are in agreement that the R.C.M.P. provide good service, but some mixed feelings do exist when people are asked to explain why they feel the way they do. In addition, the oil companies which maintain tank farms adjacent to the community note that, except for the incident cited, they have not had trouble from the residents. In contrast to this peaceful picture, are the accusations made by two of the three construction companies currently working in the community.

²³This story was not related by anyone connected with any of the oil companies with tank farms on Southside Hills.

Conclusions

So far, we have seen some of the circumstances under which Black-head Road people live, their population characteristics, and some of the ways in which they have been criticized.

From what we have seen so far, four broad problems appear to have gripped the community. First is the lack of employment. Contributing to this handicap are transportation difficulties. Second is the low educational standing of the adult population together with their lack of training and their lack of access to places where they may be trained. Third is the lack of services to the area, a problem which urban renewal proposes to satisfy. The fourth problem centers around the availability of health facilities, a problem with which Memorial University's new Medical School proposes to deal through the establishment of a medical center in the area.

Significantly, each of these factors are important in how well the community will be able to function while urban renewal is in motion and after it is over. As Klien has noted:

Most forms of disturbance to the serenity and stability of community produce shock, outrage, and other symptoms of alarm (Klein, 1968:14).

Thus, the four problem areas outlined above add to the disruption caused by urban renewal. To take employment as an example, it will be recalled that much of it was unstable and that most was of the blue collar unskilled type. Lack of stable employment and employment in menial tasks are apt to produce low self-esteem which can be psychologically crippling (Ibid.:15). This may produce feelings of anxiety or inferiority and

and possibly lead to psychosomatic and psychoneurotic symptoms, some forms of which we saw were reported to be in existence in the area.

Loss of job, as a threat to basic self-esteem of the individual may also arouse feelings of insecurity and thus become a source of anxiety (Coville, et. al., 1964:105).

To carry this point further, Leibow has found in a disintegrated negro community that:

The man sees middle class occupations as a primary source of prestige, pride, and self-respect; his own job affords him none of these. To think about his job is to see himself as others see him, to remind him of just where he stands in this society (Liebow, 1967:60).

Hence, signs of rebellion, discontent, or overreaction may arise in a situation of change where problems of insecurity already exist. One challenge to urban renewal leaders and community development workers is how to deal adequately with these human elements of reaction in order to produce a smooth and satisfying program of improvement. It is important, therefore, to be sure that where change is produced in one area that it does not radically upset the stable balance in another area (e.g., by making improvements in certain conditions, while at the same time depriving people of other assets which they see as a necessary condition to their way of life). Should the proper precautions not be taken, urban renewal and social planners risk blight and disintegration affecting those improvements which are introduced.

In Blackhead Road where we have seen some signs of disintegration, two things may have served to temper this. The first factor centers about the way some of the residents compare the place to an "outport". Hence, a general and invisible reference group has been established.

This reference group is either at or below the community's economic level in a Province where the average per capita income (in 1968) is only \$1,467 a year (Economics and Statistics Division, Department of Finance, Government of Newfoundland and Labrador, Vol. I(1), Oct. 1970:107).

Second, the nearest area presenting a visible middle-class life style to which the people may compare themselves is St. John's. But, as pointed out in the housing section, the people of Blackhead Road own homes, "the same as anyone on Elizabeth Avenue", with the added advantage that the people in Blackhead Road do not owe any mortgages.²⁴ At the same time, then, many of these insecurities appear to be offset through a pride in home ownership. As one resident aptly expressed it in a local publication called The Voice:

....for when you take away a man's pride in ownership you automatically take away his self-respect. Without self-respect a man is only an empty shell (The Voice, No. 1:3).

Another factor contributing to problems in the area is the overcrowding which exists in some cases. Such overcrowding may, in part, be responsible for many of the cases of impetigo, colds, and flu reported. It should be noted, however, that no casual relationship between poor housing and ill health has ever been proven, but a positive correlation does exist (Rose, 1958:128). Particularly relevant to the conditions in Blackhead Road, then, are these ailments just mentioned and which are sometimes grouped together under the heading of "slum diseases".

²⁴This is difficult for many from St. John's to appreciate and who sometimes wonder why anyone would want to live in those "shacks".

In the face of these problems, however, the community has much in its favor. There is more than enough space for children to play, the woods are nearby for teenagers and adults who want to go rabbit hunting, or take long hikes, and there is little crime. However, while a more thorough study would have to be made of the community's school to accurately assess it in terms of its stratification policies with regard to ability groups, its use of corporal punishment, etc., it may be said that on the face of what it has to offer, that it is one of the best equipped schools in the St. John's area.²⁵

²⁵Corporal punishment here refers to the use of a strap usually applied across the hands. It is a device in use throughout most of Canada. Further, St. John Bosco presents an interesting situation (a topic beyond the scope of this study) because its student body is almost uniformly from the lower-income bracket, because of its involvement with the community, and because so much effort has been spent to upgrade the standards. A number of studies have noted the differential treatment between upper and lower-income families in the educational system when it comes to available facilities, competent teachers, ability groupings, rewards, and punishments. A study of this school, in particular, may yield some fruitful suggestions for educational policies. For an overall view of findings in other communities see: Patricia Sexton's Educational and Income: Inequalities in our Public Schools.

CHAPTER III

LIFE IN THE COMMUNITY

Stigma and Community Solidarity

In Chapter I, the topic of stigma was dealt with historically and a brief look was taken at how some people in the Blackhead Road community have rationalized its existence. In the sample, 62.9 per cent (34) of home owners felt that a stigma prevailed about the area. In contrast, 5.5 per cent (3) said they did not know if a stigma prevailed, 18.6 per cent (10) thought the area was looked upon the same as anywhere else or thought that if a stigma did exist it was in the minds of only a scattered few. There were also 11.1 per cent (6) who thought people from St. John's respected the people of the community. One person gave no answer.

The hope among many of the residents is that urban renewal will change the image of the community in the public's mind and erase any stigma which exists. Hence, a few who thought that people from St. John's look down at people from Blackhead thought that the situation was improving. At the same time, others in the community felt that people from St. John's see Blackhead Road as getting something beneficial without doing anything for it. Typical comments by those who perceived a stigma were:

They think because of urban renewal we're gettin' a lot for nothin'.

Many think it's a slum and that the people is criminals;
people is dirty.

Many think they're on welfare and can't look after themselves.

I don't think they think very much of the people up here.
The people gets on with foolish conversation on the radio
and lets the St. John's people know they are foolish.

When compared to some of the comments made by outsiders in the previous Chapter, it is evident that the people's response to the question of stigma in the sample is fairly accurate. Confirmation of these attitudes have been expressed by shopkeepers when residents have tried to buy something on credit or when they have tried to have something delivered. It has been reflected when they have tried to get loans and in some cases when they have applied for jobs. How the image of the area is sustained beyond this is difficult to pinpoint. Newspapers and broadcast stations have helped to some degree by reporting the news on living conditions and the health standards. The actual degree to which such outlets have been directly responsible for firmly impressing a poor image of the community cannot readily be assessed. It appears that when some problem arises, it results in self-consciousness among certain residents who then bring it up for public discussion at community gatherings. This has had the effect of further confirming what everyone thought they knew all along. These acts are then coupled with problems of obtaining school busses for their children, of getting cab companies to call in the area, and of getting doctors to make calls because of the poor conditions of the roads.

Another sensitivity that has developed over time centers around the name "the brow" by which the area has come to be known and which appears

frequently in newspaper articles. In the minds of many, this name has come to conjure up all the stereotypes which stigmatize the area. Said one woman:

The name the brow is like when an American thinks of a negro.

Klein notes three social networks, which he calls communities, that relate to self-esteem (Klein, 1968:15). One is the community of work. It is here that a person may establish important reference points on how to view himself. A man may come to think of himself as being whatever it is that his job is called or what it is he performs. For example, he may think: I am a town planner, I am a sociologist, I am a janitor, I am a fish cutter, or I am a garbage man. A second community is the company he works for. This would apply, for example, to residents who worked for Job Brother's Fish Plant. The third community is the boundary areas which a man sees as his place of residence.

Klein also goes on to note that, "Significance...refers to the value placed on the person by key people in his environment" (Ibid.). For example, if he is well liked, he may have a great deal of significance in his social networks. Residential areas, it would seem, may also be viewed in these terms. Blackhead Road, for example, has poor significance in the eyes of those who perpetuate the stigma. This, in turn, massively affects a whole group and helps shape its way of life through certain terms of reference which may become established concepts. Out of this can grow a sense of pride and challenge, or a sense of defeatism and a sense of inability to do anything about the future. The latter may see its toll in apathy and disorganization.

However, it would seem that a stigma against a physically identifiable community could also actually serve to unite the community in a common identity against outsiders and contribute to community solidarity (Martindale, 1960:458-462). For example, an "us"- "them" attitude prevails in Blackhead Road which is marked by a perceived difference in worth. The community is "us" -- unsophisticated, unable to understand "big words", and uneducated. St. John's and the Government is "them" -- sophisticated, out for what they can get, educated, and successful. This perception of there being a "them", however, does not appear to carry over to the churches, the hierarchies of which are made up of educated outsiders. St. Peter's, for example, is part of the community even though its impact on the community is greatly overshadowed by the Roman Catholic Parish. St. John Bosco is definitely seen as one of "us". Many residents have a definite sense that they have contributed to its existence; and not only do many of their children attend the Parish School, but they themselves use its facilities for recreation. In both churches, a high degree of expressiveness is encouraged within their organizational frameworks and each involves community members in the decision-making process.

Such a situation as "us"- "them" may arise out of a pronounced lack of communication between one group and another. In Blackhead Road, this has occurred between the community and Government from the 1930's up to the present, primarily because of the Government's lack of any direct or visible concern for the problems of the people. Even as regards urban renewal, already mentioned as a sign of hope for removing the stigma, this "us"- "them" attitude is clearly evident. One reason for this is

that the community has never been included in any of the decision processes which relate to the project. Expressed another way, the community has never been made to "feel" a part of the decision process. Klein summarizes this type of situation as it relates to possible disputes and feelings of insecurity. He says:

Thus it is no wonder that some of the most bitter and prolonged conflicts arise in the community over matters of land use. Our feelings about territory and how we are oriented within lebensraum are at the core of our being. To be comfortably and suitably located in spacial terms may have profoundly positive effects on emotional well-being; certainly to be disoriented in space is associated with profound psychic distress and psychosis. Decisions about such matters as the location of superhighways through neighborhoods through urban renewal call into question both the basic security of the individual and his ability to defend his turf against others. His inability to influence such decisions reflects his lack of significance to the community and his marginal position within it (Ibid.:58).

In 1965, the Interim Report noted that in Blackhead 84 per cent (321) of those families surveyed professed to "loving" the area (Project Planning Associates, 1965:13). In the sample for this study, as many as 29.6 per cent (16) responded that there was absolutely nothing that they disliked about the community when asked what they liked "least" about the area. This occurred even when the interviewer probed the question. However, these results are not unusual for slum areas where people do generally profess to liking the area where they live.

Another indication of community satisfaction is the response to the question, Do you think that this neighborhood is a good place for bringing up your children? This question was confined to the 43 respondents who had children of high school age or younger. Eighty-six per cent (37)

of these respondents felt that the area was good for their children, while 14 per cent (6) felt that it was not.

Several factors contribute to the community's sense of identity. First, it will be recalled that more than 60 per cent of the 54 home owners sampled felt that their close friends were situated within the community. Second, the community is highly interrelated through marriage and by blood. An attempt was made to trace each respondent's relatives, but it soon became evident that to do this was a massive project that could take a whole afternoon and part of an evening with each of the respondents. In addition, the geographic isolation and stigma contribute to community identification.

While stigma is an essentially demoralizing feature, it is something which affects all the residents equally, and they all react to it in much the same way. Nevertheless, it is not suggested here that stigma has created a unified front on the part of the community, but rather that it has facilitated an identity which, in turn, is important in developing some kind of solidarity. Coping with this may be expressed in such diverse ways as opposing the construction of public housing on the grounds that it would hurt the reputation of the area even more or by hoping that urban renewal will improve the community's image. Such efforts are attempts at stigma management as defined by Goffman.

The area of stigma management, then, might be seen as something that pertains mainly to public life, to contact between strangers or mere acquaintances, to one end of a continuum whose other pole is intimacy (Goffman, 1963:51).

Another way to cope with the problem of stigma management may be expressed

through the desire to change the name of the community from "the brow" to "the hill".

Goffman goes on to say:

The term 'category' is perfectly abstract and can be applied to any aggregate, in this case persons with a particular stigma. A good portion of those who fall within a given stigma category may well refer to the total membership by the term 'group' or an equivalent, such as 'we' or 'our people'. Those outside the category may similarly designate those within it in group terms. However, often in such cases the full membership will not be part of a single group, in the strictest sense; they will neither have a capacity for collective action, nor a stable and embracing pattern of mutual interaction. What one does find is that the members of a particular stigma category will have a tendency to come together into small social groups whose members all derive from the category, these groups themselves being subject to overarching organization to varying degrees (Ibid.:23).

Another indication of community identity that one finds in Blackhead is a sense of security by most of its members that should they need help (e.g., in repairing their home or should they become ill), it will always be available from friends or relatives. At the same time, there is a tendency for the body of residents to become suspicious of the actions of other residents who appear in leadership roles even while they are dependent on them. This suggests that the degree of suspicion does not override the fear of helplessness and inadequacy which they feel when taking on responsibilities by themselves. In addition, it suggests a potentially very unstable situation.

A certain amount of ambivalence has set in among many of the residents towards organizing for generalized goals to solve their own problems. This appears to be due to a general lack of education which is associated

with an inability to generalize and think abstractly. Where ambivalence has set in, it should be kept in mind that the residents are faced with obvious failures in maintaining a living often resulting from lack of skills. Moreover, much of this is not of their own volition as evidenced by the closing of Job Brother's.

Coleman cites a study where:

The shutdown of a steel plant in Marienthal, a small city in Austria, reduced a lively and active town to an apathetic one whose members were listless and hardly interested in the life of their community (Coleman, 1957:4).

Blackhead Road has not yet fallen to this extreme, but it does suggest the helplessness that a number of residents feel.

Up to now, we have seen some of the characteristics which present the picture of unification. However, there are criteria which serve to differentiate and isolate people from each other in the community. Based on the findings of the 1965 Interim Report and on observations made during this study, there is not a great deal of socializing in the home (Project Planning Associates, 1965:13). Rather, it is more apt to take place in friendship circles in outdoor activities. Bingo, fund drives for the School, Saturday night dances, and concerts sponsored by the church will draw sizable crowds. In addition, the community suffers from physical pockets of isolation and from a number of neighborly disputes over land.

With regard to land, two cases shall serve as examples. About 1962, a man who had been born and raised in the community and who had left to find work some years before, returned to the area with a wife. Together they purchased a house in the center of the settlement. The

agreement for the sale of this house was a private deal between this man and another resident who planned to move from the area. Hence, no record was made of the deal except for something written on a scrap of paper. No one paid much attention to land boundaries for a long while. The neighbors, for example, hung their clothes quite near the house. The new owners were not quite sure of exactly what land they did own, but paid no attention to this. Everything was fine until they decided to make an addition of one room to the house.¹ Immediately, the woman who lived to the left of the house claimed that she owned all the land up to the side of it. Then the householder to the rear of the house, sensing a land dispute, also claimed all the way up to the house in question. At the same time, he threatened to fence it all.

Also, to the left side of the house was a small shack occupied by two aging women. In an attempt to expand their holdings, both the residents whose land was in question and the woman contesting him attempted to get title to this structure from the old ladies. The woman came away the victor when she managed to convince the two old women that, while they owned their home, it was situated on her land. She then proceeded to purchase the structure.

Fearing that the neighbors might begin to claim the land underneath their home, the man whose land was in question went to the officials to straighten out the land difficulties. As a consequence, a surveyor was called in, and he found that legally the man whose land was in question

¹They had obtained a building permit from the Metropolitan Area Board in order to do this.

was entitled to even more land than he originally thought he owned. The situation was complicated by the fact that the lady who lived to the left of his house was claiming land she had purchased from an older resident who may not have been completely aware of what he was legally entitled to. In addition, the other neighbor to the rear appears to have been living on land legally registered under someone else's name.

However, with the survey establishing the proper boundaries, the dispute did not end. The woman to the left of the man's house whose land was in question, began to become embittered. She cut clotheslines, threatened to tear down any additions made to her neighbor's home, and got into a few very harsh verbal battles with them. Her neighbor then sought legal advice which quieted the situation. However, he never did build his extension. Says his wife:

Sometimes they gets some mean (over land disputes)...the neighbors will pour soap and stuff down each others wells.

Other examples of land disputes and feuding exist, as evidenced by one man in the valley who claimed land which serves as an access to a neighbors plot. On one occasion when the oil truck came to deliver oil to his neighbor, he chopped the oil hose in half which was feeding his neighbor's house. The valley section is, in fact, regarded by a few of the residents in the bulk of the settlement with some caution. This stems, in part, from a number of family disputes which were being carried on until recently. In reverse, some people in the eastern part of the valley say that they are excluded from things and are isolated from activities in the main part of the settlement. This reaction was evident in

the questionnaire when some residents referred to such things as involvement with citizen groups and whether they had had the opportunity to read the urban renewal newsletter. Moreover, the eastern section of the valley area is more sparsely populated than the other sections of the settlement. Some clusters of homes and some individual homes are set back in the underbrush well away from the Valley Road giving them no vehicular access. As new roads are established by urban renewal, however, this situation is likely to change.

Another disorienting factor is a generation gap between many of the aging residents of the community and the younger ones. The older people complain about such things as dwindling church attendance, children staying out too late at night, the drinking at Saturday night dances held at St. John Bosco, short skirts on the girls, recent changes in the Mass handed down by the Vatican, and the lack of respect the younger generation sometimes show when addressing them.

In summary, it may be said that there is a strong identity with the area, but this by itself does not imply the full extent of community solidarity. The stable and positive pillars of the community center about recreation, the School, and the Church.

Community Satisfaction

A good indication of community satisfaction was found in the Interim Report where 84 per cent of the families interviewed indicated a "loving" of the area. Another indication, mentioned earlier, was the number who felt the community was a good place to bring up their children. In

addition to this, most parents are quite pleased with St. John Bosco School as a competent institution to teach their children, and they also perceive their children's reaction to the School as favorable.²

However, there are things which the residents both like and dislike about their community. Typical comments for liking the area include:

It's healthy and there is nice clean air.

It's clear of taxes.

It's home to me. I've lived here all my life.

It's a nice quiet place.

The people is friendly.

It's safe for children.

It don't have the hustle of town.

It has country atmosphere.

Ye can appreciate the view from here and there is no theft.

I owns me own home.

Ye can go fishin' or huntin'.

There's lots of room.

Typical comments for disliking the area include:

There is no water and sewage.

No transportation, bad roads.

No comfortable place to wash.

It's either muddy or dusty.

²While the parent's perception of the child's satisfaction with school may contribute to the parent's satisfaction with the area, there is no data to show whether the children are, in fact, satisfied with their school.

Typical reasons why people feel it is a good community for rearing children (86 per cent of the sample felt it was good) include:

I've had no trouble with the children up here.

There is little traffic.

It's near a pond for swimming and there is lots of open space.

There's plenty of fresh air.

A few respondents also referred to the School, the Church, and their relationships within the community.

In the vast majority of cases, the respondents were consistent in dwelling on the physical aspects of the community rather than on human relationships. For example, those mentioned in the last section who said there was nothing they disliked about the community were primarily concerned with positive physical things such as terrain and home ownership. Few people complain or boast that what they like least or best about the area are their neighbors or their neighbor's conduct.

Thus, in Blackhead, the people's likes and dislikes of the community, on the whole, are narrowed to the visible and tangible things with which urban renewal proposes to deal. It is these things which the people either cling to or wish to see changed. Urban renewal will affect and change things both cherished and disliked.

A brief assessment of these physical things may hold a clue for possible community satisfaction after urban renewal is completed. If urban renewal brings water, sewage, better roads, and a better standard of home ownership, the present residents who place these items as a definite priority over any further displeasing changes, are apt to find the

area pleasant enough to stay. On the other hand, if urban renewal brings more traffic, more congestion, excessive taxes, and less home ownership, the present residents who place these items as a definite priority over any favorable changes are apt to want to leave the area, possibly for one as "deprived" as Blackhead Road is now. Those who may find themselves strapped to the community because of age, health, or employment, or because they cannot make up their minds, and those who become frustrated in a rapidly changing situation may experience ambivalence.

It is clear at this point that water, sewage, roads, and transportation are the main things most of the residents wish to see changed.³ While physical aspects are the main concern of residents for themselves and for those who like the area for their children, there is an indication that social factors are a main concern for those who dislike the area for their children. Fourteen per cent (6) of those with children school age or younger disliked the area for their children. Within this category, only two complained of physical things. The remaining four complained of the way of life. Two complained of the roughness or drunkenness of the residents, one complained that the children in the area roamed the streets too late at night, while one person complained of the stigma. This father, who was very satisfied with the School, felt that the poor name the area has would adversely affect his children.

³Three out of the 54 respondents said what they liked least about the community was the way urban renewal had torn up everything. These respondents would not address themselves to the community in a more general way even when the interviewers probed.

The residents, then, appear to be reasonably satisfied with their neighbors. Physically, the community holds the things which they most desire and enjoy. Lack of services is their main complaint.

Religion and Organizations

In Chapter I, the role of the Church up to the present was discussed. Clearly, the major institution in the community is the Church, and it is through the Church that the people have been able to express themselves in an organized fashion. No such outlet has correspondingly emerged in Government. Today, two churches have a direct involvement in organizing activities and conducting services in Blackhead Road. These are the Roman Catholic and Anglican Churches.

The Roman Catholic Chapel adjoins St. John Bosco School. It currently operates under a Parish priest, Father Leo Shea, who has taken a very deep interest in the community. While one does hear isolated criticism of him over particular issues from some of the residents, the parishioners like him very much. As one outsider expressed it, "They (the residents) are dying about him." Aside from the fact that Father Shea is a generous man, this attitude has developed because he has taken upon himself many of the burdens and responsibilities of the various Roman Catholic organizations.

St. John Bosco Parish sponsors three main organizations: the Finance Committee, the Holy Name Society, and the Women's Committee. The first two organizations are all male. "We've tried introducing women to the Finance Committee", said Father Shea, "but it didn't work." It

appears to have set up lines of competition. "The women were ready to work with the men, but the men were not prepared to accept the women." For one thing, the women appear to be more flexible in the number and types of activities they will undertake. The Women's Committee handles six different activities: "the canteen" at the Saturday night dances, bake sales, catering to weddings and outings, helping the teachers in some school-sponsored activities and chaperoning the children, jumbo sales (the sale of secondhand items), and card games (at present, this activity is dormant; however, there are plans to re-enlist interest once space can be found). In contrast to this, the Men's Committee or, as it is formally known, the Finance Committee, handles bingo which occurs three times a week at the St. John Bosco School gym. They also take charge of the Parish activities at the yearly St. John's Regatta where they run a booth, usually a wheel of fortune and, in some years, have entered sports activities at this event. Father Shea has attempted to introduce other activities to the Finance Committee such as sponsoring dances, but he has not been successful. Attempts, too, were made by the Church to form sports activities, but these were not successful either.

When Father Shea was appointed administrator for the area in 1964, he began by establishing the Finance Committee and Holy Name Society first. The Women's Committee was not formally established until 1968. According to Father Shea, he started the men's groups first to compensate for the fact that the men were apt to be less active in church than women. He estimated that about 40 per cent of the Roman Catholics in the community attended Mass regularly. Of these, most are women and children.

The Finance Committee and the Women's Committee have both had organizational problems. Both groups began by electing an executive board to conduct meetings and delegate work. With the Finance Committee, reported Father Shea, sporadic attendance by many of the members was a problem, and there was a tendency on the part of the membership, "not to want anyone in the boss's seat". A joint chairmanship was set up, but this arrangement broke down when both quit. In addition, the Secretary to the group lacked confidence to perform his duties. As a consequence, Father Shea found himself becoming the anchor man for the group; and without his continual attention, the group was prone to become disorganized and lose interest.

In order to help produce a reliable membership, Father Shea introduced a resolution to the Finance Committee whereby members would be paid \$2.00 per activity. This caused some debate from the members who felt the group should operate on a purely voluntary basis. Eventually, though, this resolution was accepted in the hopes that it would improve the effectiveness of the Committee. At about the same time, the formal executive was disbanded.

The Women's Committee ran into a similar problem. Subcommittees became established to handle special tasks, but recruits of one subcommittee often invaded the tasks of other subcommittees. In addition, cliques developed, and this contributed to a general lack of efficiency. In the summer of 1969, the Women's Committee, like the Finance Committee, voted to disband its executive. Rather than formally establish committees, a particular woman is picked to head an activity, such as card games or

bake sales, and she calls on the general membership for help. This system, according to Father Shea, has worked better.

The Holy Name Society is the exception in that it does have an executive. This organization invites speakers to come and give talks, and members are called upon to help with Mass. It sponsors no activities directly and is a spiritually oriented society. The president is Tom Smyth, the man who is also the Parish's lay representative on the regional school board. He also heads the Ushering Committee for the Parish and is a member of the Finance Committee. He is by far one of the more ambitious members of the community and is willing to carry out the tedious work of lining up speakers and calling meetings. Father Shea speculates that one reason why the Holy Name Society has succeeded with an executive board is that this group involves less decision making on the part of the members than do the other two organizations.

A meeting of the Holy Name Society attended by this author revealed that lack of self-confidence is a major problem for the group. Part of the meeting centered on recruiting volunteers from the membership to present talks and read the Epistle at church services. Questions were raised about whether the speaker would be respected or ridiculed for standing up. It was finally decided that the speakers would be ridiculed for a while, but that some brave souls would have to begin it. One old gentleman pointed out he would not read the Epistle because there were a lot of big words in it and he was sure to get stuck. The others shook their heads and murmured agreement, but then another man spoke. "Oh well", he said, "a lot of educated people can't read it either."

Tom Smyth, then, stood up and addressed them. "We have got to learn to speak up and be more articulate", he told them. As background to this point, he emphasized his own life history in a lecturing manner. It was a story they had heard before.

I left the hill in _____ and joined the Navy. I went to a lot of foreign places and never was ashamed to tell them I was from Blackhead Road or about the place. Although I was very self-conscious when I left.

Smyth had left the community about 20 years before and had returned after giving up a job in Toronto about a year earlier. He claimed to love the community and to be unhappy away from it. He returned and took upon himself a number of leadership positions. In continuing his lecture, he noted that, on the basis of his experience, their problems resulted because they could not communicate. Now, because of the changes all around them in the Mass, urban renewal, and in their general surroundings in a faster paced world, they had to force themselves to meet the changing world. It was finally agreed at the Holy Name Society meeting that, with some practice, this might be done.

When membership in organizations is considered, the community may be geographically divided in half. Most of the people in the community cluster around Blackhead Road, Mason Road, and St. John Bosco School on Valley Road. It is here that approximately 75 per cent of the homes are located. To the east, there are still a large number of homes (about one-quarter of those in the community), but they are sparsely spread about. This dividing line takes on importance, not only when one considers the attitudes of people living in the east and west toward each

other, but also because the urban renewal planners chose this approximate location to situate a new highway to direct traffic through to Cape Spear.

When the community is mapped in this fashion, a number of facts come to light. Out of the 25 Finance Committee members, 16 own homes.⁴ Of the 16 who own homes, only one is from the east while the remaining 15 are from the west. The Holy Name Society had a total membership of 45 in December of 1969 of whom 28 were home owners. Of the 28 home owners, eight were from the easterly sector and 20 were from the western sector. Hence, the Holy Name Society was proportionately represented by home owners in both the east and the west. Membership on the Women's Committee by home owners was slightly underrepresented in the east. The Women's Committee had a total membership of 17. Of these, there were 11 who owned their own home or their husbands held title. One home-owning member out of the 11 was from the east. In two of the three organizations, the Finance Committee and the Women's Committee, participation by home owners from the eastern section of the community is underrepresented. Noteworthy also, of the above figures, is that home owners in all three instances make up more than half of each organization.

Further examination reveals that nine on the Women's Committee (52.9 per cent) had husbands active in one or two of the three Roman Catholic men's groups: the Finance Committee, the Holy Name Society, and the Ushering Committee. Four of the nine husbands claimed membership in

⁴The remaining nine members making up the 25 members were either renters or members of a household where a relative owned the house. (This would include such household members as the sons of a home owner.)

both the Finance Committee and the Holy Name Society. The remaining five husbands were listed as a member in only one of these three groups.

The total number of active men, when all three men's groups are combined, is 88. Of these 88, only 15 were active on more than one committee. Of these 15, thirteen were active in two groups and two were active in all three men's groups.

The Anglican Church has two organizations which cater to adults. The Vestry, which was founded in February 1968, is a body elected by the congregation and has the responsibility of carrying out church life and caring for the building. The Women's Association, founded in 1964, raises money, brings in educational speakers, and sponsors recreational activities. A look at the Anglican organizations reveals a similar picture to that found with the Roman Catholics. Most of those who are active live near the Church. The greatest proportion of those who participate in the Vestry and Women's Association come from the upper half of Blackhead Road (above its junction with Valley Road). It is here that St. Peter's is located. Some minor participation comes from Mason Road, while only one member could be identified as living on Valley Road.

As with the Roman Catholics, the Anglican organizations have a small number of names which keep reappearing. The Vestry membership in 1968 was six men and seven women. By 1969, this had fallen to three men and seven women. These three men and only three of the women were active for both 1968 and 1969. Four of the 10 females in the Women's Association in 1969 were also on the Vestry. The total number of active Anglicans in 1969 was 16. Thirteen were women and three were men.

What is evident from the above is that part of the Blackhead Road community is currently isolated from church activities. It would also appear that a woman who is active is more apt to have a husband who is also active, than a husband who is active will have an active wife. Further, it also appears that most of the people in the community are not active in any organization and that, of those who are active, the women are more versatile than the men. In the two Anglican organizations, there are numerically more active women than men. While such a numerical observation does not hold true for the Roman Catholics, it is evident that the women's group has engaged in far more activities than the men. Moreover, the greater number of Roman Catholic men is partly a result of Father Shea's greater involvement in men's organizations. At the same time, the greater involvement of Anglican women is partly due to the greater involvement of Deaconess Paine in women's groups than in men's groups.

Besides the Vestry and the Women's Association, the Anglican Church sponsors three youth groups in the area. First, there is a young girls group for early teens. Fellowship is the purpose of the group. Second, is the Anglican Youth Movement for those 14 years of age and over. It sponsors recreation and dances. Third, is a boys group for those 11 to 14 years of age.

Like St. John Bosco, St. Peter's makes space available for outside groups to meet. For example, the urban renewal social worker attempted to organize a sewing group there. St. Peter's, however, plays a subordinate role in the community, and they have trouble generating and sus-

taining interest. To help offset this, the Anglican Church has made concessions. For example, they permit bingo once a week.

Bingo at St. Peter's is not nearly as an expensive or elaborate affair as it is at St. John Bosco, but then St. Peter's does not depend upon its bingo for revenue. Rather, the congregation is subsidized by St. Mary's. Bingo is offered, as one former Sunday School teacher put it, "because of the Roman Catholic influence", for bingo is generally not approved of by the Anglican Church. Moreover, the Anglican Church hierarchy does not approve of the residents being charged a dollar admission to St. John Bosco bingo in order to help support the Parish. The feeling is that this dollar would be better spent at home.

Despite this attitude, bingo is an important feature in the life of Blackhead Road residents. The reasons for this are best stated by Morris and Mogey who, in a study done in Berinsfield, England, offer six reasons why such pass times as bingo become so popular with the working class. First, the activity is shared by those who already know each other. Second, "the activity itself provides a specific focus of interest, while strictly limiting the level of skill required for entry into the group of participants." Third, the ability of the individual bears little relation to the rewards. Fourth, there is the excitement of competition. Fifth, "little originality or initiative is required for these activities", and sixth, because of the above reasons, "new members can easily gain acceptance" (Morris and Mogey, 1965:71-72).

Alcohol sold at the St. John Bosco Saturday night dances is another sore topic for the Anglicans. They point to the possibilities of alcohol

being passed on to someone under the 21 year old age limit. They also point to their own Saturday night dances held once every two weeks for teens where a tape recorder is featured and no alcohol is sold. Attendance at these dances vary. The "Romans", as Canon Babb sometimes refers to them, can bring in bands to attract large crowds since they have more money to spend and a larger area to hold dances.

Another criticism centers about the manner in which Father Shea has helped a number of families claiming to be in need by lending them money from time to time. Such money, it is felt, does not always get spent on what it was intended. Says Canon Babb, "Life is not free. There is a giving and a taking." For example, the Anglicans sponsor a girls' camp in the summer for which they charge, but it is also subsidized. In this way, the girls are charged on the basis of their general ability to pay; and it is hoped a sense of pride in paying for one's own way will be instilled.

The Anglican leadership's disapproval of lending the residents cash is shared by the urban renewal social worker. When she has been approached for a loan for food she has often either bought the groceries herself or has checked up to see that the money was spent properly. Many of these contributions have come out of her own pocket.

Anglican methods have been criticized too. Part of their program for instilling a sense of dignity has been to conduct fund drives for needy overseas families. On one occasion, boasts Canon Babb, they got a donation as high as \$50. Here, it has been argued that the residents of Blackhead Road may derive a sense of not being as poverty stricken as

other people around the world and that they can gain a security in feeling somewhat well off. At the same time, however, it has been questioned if such donations would not better rest with the indigenous of the area.

Presented above, then, are two points of view to achieving the same end, which is to up-lift the residents. They are splits in ideology which, for the most part, remain the concerns of the clergy and are not issues of great concern of the majority of residents.

While both the Roman Catholic and Anglican Churches have traditionally remained apart from one another in their efforts throughout Newfoundland, Blackhead Road has had the effect of bringing these two churches in the area closer together. Primarily, this has been the result of the presence of urban renewal which, it was felt, would need a great deal of co-operation to make it successful and which was entering into the areas as an "outsider". From this new force, both organizations felt they had something to gain or to lose. Indeed, Canon Babb and Father Shea have come to consider themselves friends and have agreed to co-operate fully with each other. Hence, no open rivalry exists between the two churches.

Between the two church leaders, there are points of agreement on how they view the community and on common problems. Both agree, for example, that emotionalism runs high in the community, though each sees this a bit differently. In Canon Babb's opinion, "The people react from emotion before reason"; while in Father Shea's opinion, "The emotionalism is superficial, and if you break through that, there is a great deal of rationalism." Also both churches complain about lack of attendance at

services. Table 11 presents how the 54 home owners in the sample rated their own church attendance and that of their spouse.

From Table 11, it can be seen that Roman Catholics, more than the other faiths, show the most extreme behavior between men and women. Generally, male and female attendance at church is inversely related. As the number of females increase toward greater church attendance every Sunday, male attendance decreases. The table further appears to bear out Father Shea's estimate on male Roman Catholic church attendance, since about 60 per cent of those attending every Sunday are female; and this accounts for almost 40 per cent (38.8 per cent) of all Roman Catholics covered by the sample.

For the sample as a whole, it appears that the largest group are those who attend church every Sunday (27.6 per cent). However, this is exclusively Roman Catholic participation. The next largest group are those residents who never attend (26.5 per cent), followed by those who attend just once in awhile (22.3 per cent), and those who attend seldom (15.9 per cent). The three categories with the lowest attendance account for 64.7 per cent (61) of the 94 people covered by the sample (54 home owners plus their spouses). Hence, church attendance in the sample is poor. The 34.9 per cent whose attendance is good are almost all Roman Catholic.

These results point to some interesting possibilities since both the Roman Catholics and Anglicans are laying plans to increase their commitments. Father Shea will become a resident priest in Blackhead at the conclusion of the stage of urban renewal dealing with the installation

TABLE 11.--Church attendance by sex and religion as rated by
the 54 home owners about themselves and spouse
(total = 94)⁵

<u>Volume of Church Attendance</u>	<u>ROMAN CATHOLIC</u>			<u>ANGLICAN</u>			<u>OTHER</u>			<u>TOTAL SAMPLE</u>	
	<u>Men Number</u>	<u>Women Number</u>	<u>Per cent</u>	<u>Men Number</u>	<u>Women Number</u>	<u>Per cent</u>	<u>Men Number</u>	<u>Women Number</u>	<u>Per cent</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Per cent</u>
More than once a week		1	1.4							1	1.0
Every Sunday	7	19	38.8							26	27.6
Once every two weeks	2	1	4.4	1	2	15.0				6	6.3
Just once in awhile but less than once every two weeks	9	6	22.3	3	2	25.0		1	14.2	21	23.3
Seldom (less than once a month)	2	5	10.4	3	2	25.0	2	1	42.8	15	15.9
Never	<u>12</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>22.3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>35.0</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>42.8</u>	<u>25</u>	<u>26.5</u>
TOTAL	32	35	100%	10	10	100%	3	4	100%	94	100%

⁵The sample of 54 home owners found 40 married couples and 14 people who were widowed, separated, or who had never married. Thus, the total population under consideration is (40 + 40 + 14) 94.

of water, sewage, and roads. In addition, St. John Bosco School is planning to expand their curriculum to grade 10, and a community recreation center is in the planning by the Parish. The Anglican Church has exchanged their land near the edge of the urban renewal project on Blackhead Road for a more centrally located site. There they intend to build, at the completion of urban renewal, a new chapel which they intend to also use as a community center.

The subject of stable community organizations, for the most part, ends with the discussion of church and school. Nevertheless, there have been other attempts by the residents to form groups. Two of these groups which have had some success are the Boy Scouts and a community recreation club.

The Scout movement has seen a number of attempts to get started in Blackhead Road in past years. However, problems of organization, interest, and finding a place to meet have always persisted. At the invitation of a resident, Larry Timmins, the Scout Master to the Fourth St. Patricks Troop of St. John's, came up to the community to organize the first St. John Bosco Troop. This is a Boy Scout Troop that has been given space to meet in St. John Bosco, but it is not supported by the Parish. Rather, it tries to be self-sufficient. The boys are charged a small dues fee and must buy the shirt and tie part of the uniform. The Scout Master believes that the boys should have instilled in them a pride in paying their own way.

The Troop has seen some fluctuating success over its two and one-half years of existence. In 1969, 24 boys were sent to the Newfoundland

Jamboree which attracted more than 1,100 boys from all over the Province. In spite of this success, the Scout Master has hesitated initiating a rigorous campaign to attract parents to help out. His reasoning is that they have their hands too full dealing with problems in urban renewal to pay attention to the administrative business of the Scout Troop. Presently, the Group Committee which oversees the Scout organization in the community consists of only four adults. They are very loosely organized and have no chairman. According to the Scout Master, there is little participation on the part of the parents. "But then", he says, "I can't complain about the hill anymore than anywhere else in St. John's." In addition, he has tried to interest a couple of St. John Bosco teachers to take part. However, they have either laughed at or shrugged off the invitation to become involved.

A number of attempts have been made by the residents over the years to form sports clubs for adults and children. The latest attempt was headed by Tom Smyth in 1969 with the Hill Recreation and Sports Association. Father Shea has been approached to help, but he noted that he cannot get enthusiastic about anything he honestly feels will not work.

The organization attempted to organize trips to local sports events and to organize soft ball teams. Its major project for the year was to try and get a playing field in the community since competition for space downtown was considered too great. Tom Smyth and the members of his committee had a site in mind for this on a rocky patch of land on Valley Road a short distance east of St. John Bosco. The Urban Renewal Office expressed optimism. Smyth planned to raise about \$1,000 to undertake

this project. He reasoned that roughly half of this was needed to pay a boy from the community to act as an instructor and take care of the equipment for the summer. He hoped the Provincial Government would contribute half and the Association would be able to put up the other half through donations. Initially, June 15th was looked upon as the target date to have the land cleared.

By June 15th, the land had not been cleared. Again a target date was set, this time for July. Once again when the target date came around, the Association met with excuses, and the land was not cleared. In late August, Lundrigan Construction finally cleared the land. By this time, however, it was too late to press for the Government assistance which did not come. The end result amounted to little more than a small barren field which turned to mud in the constant rainfall of the St. John's area. Some residents began to complain that the site was poorly chosen and was too marshy. A dispute then arose over finances between the Association and the youngster who had been hired to care for the field. With the onslaught of winter only a couple of months away, the field saw minimum usage and did not become a success. The following spring saw efforts from a resident on the newly formed Blackhead Road Householder's Union to get a promise for action in writing from the Urban Renewal Office. However, to date, nothing has been produced as a result of these efforts.

Government

In terms of a formal system, the Metropolitan Area Board has jurisdiction over the Blackhead Road. It can give building permits, oversees

night soil collection which is sometimes locally referred to as the "honey cart", and it deals with questions which arise over zoning. However, as we have already seen in Chapter I, the Board's effectiveness is badly hampered since 1) it cannot assess taxes and is dependent upon the Provincial House of Assembly for funds, 2) it is a part-time body, and 3) there is no grass roots representation on it. Indeed, even its meetings are closed to the public. It is, so to speak, the first link in a chain of secret fraternities which hold the fate of Blackhead Road in its hands and is linked to other secret committees which make policy decisions concerning the urban renewal program.

In the sample, the 54 home owners were asked if they understood the purpose of different committees and organizations of which the Metropolitan Area Board was one. Thirty-four (62.9 per cent) said that they did not understand the Metropolitan Area Board, one person was unsure, and 19 (35.1 per cent) felt that they did understand the purposes of the Metropolitan Area Board, though some pointed out that this was just "general" knowledge and that they had never been properly informed about the Board.

Knowledge of the structure of local government, then, is badly lacking, and there appears to be an obvious gap between government and the people. It appears, too, that when most of the residents have a question or want something done they do not know where to go or who should be properly contacted. Nor does Government appear to understand how to reach the community when it has a problem and wishes to communicate.

The membership of the Board is comprised of seven prominent citizens from St. John's and the Mayor of the nearby suburb of Mount Pearl. The

roster includes the President of a local lumber company who is also a member of the Board of Regents of Memorial University. He serves as the Metropolitan Area Board's Chairman. Also included is the Provincial Deputy Minister of Economic Development who also serves as Chairman of the St. John's Housing Corporation. The remaining members include the Director of Medicare for Newfoundland, an unsuccessful candidate for the Provincial House of Assembly who owns several bars, and a licensed title researcher who owns a number of small businesses and who acted as Campaign Manager for an unsuccessful candidate for leadership of the Newfoundland Liberal Party. This member of the Metropolitan Area Board eventually took the position of the Board's representative on the Local Advisory Committee. This Committee came to be the official residents' body set up by the urban renewal project in Blackhead Road. The last two members of the Metropolitan Area Board are City Councilors in St. John's. One owns a funeral home, and the other is the Managing Director of a local outlet for a large office machine company.

The Metropolitan Area Board maintains a staff of about seven including building inspectors and secretaries. It is directly responsible to the Minister of Municipal Affairs.

It is noteworthy that both the people of the City and the people of Mount Pearl are represented through appointments on the Metropolitan Area Board, while the people of the fringe areas of the City (excluding Mount Pearl) have no representation on it. Any electoral sanctions which might be evoked by the people of the fringe, and in particular Blackhead Road, can only be made against their elected representative to the Pro-

vincial House of Assembly. In addition, the spoils of what electoral sanctions do exist for the people of Blackhead Road must be shared with a portion of the residents of the City who are also members of the same voting district as Blackhead Road. Ministers in the Government are appointed by the Premier from the members of the House of Assembly. For most of 1969, the position of Minister of Municipal Affairs was held by John Nolan who also was the elected representative from St. John's South. This voting district includes Blackhead Road and part of St. John's. For Blackhead Road, this had the advantage of combining their elected representative with the office in Government which had the most authority over the area. However, in December of 1969, when Eric Dawe was appointed to the position of Minister of Municipal Affairs (after a cabinet shuffle) the responsibility was divided. Dawe's immediate surface loyalties were to his own electoral district in Conception Bay. Hence, two ministers became partly responsible for the area. One was John Nolan whose loyalty was through election, and the other was Eric Dawe whose responsibility was through his position.

Problems with the creation of the Metropolitan Area Board arise over the amount of attention which the Board can spend on Blackhead Road. Its time is spread out since its responsibility is to a much larger area of which Blackhead Road is only a small part. Decisions, therefore, have been largely those of a restrictive or negative nature, and no liason or communication structure formally exists between the Board and those they rule. Hence, Blackhead Road when it does not like an action of the Board, instead of directly dealing with the local officials themselves, must go

to a high official in the Province who informs the local officials. While it is possible for the residents to contact someone on the Metropolitan Area Board, it has already been shown that more than half of the community does not know what the Metropolitan Area Board is for. Moreover, the physical accessibility of the Board is difficult. Its meetings are held in the basement of an expensive government-owned high rise apartment house located several miles away from the fringe area.

A problem contributing heavily to the lack of communication with Government is the way the Blackhead Road has always been disorganized. It is one thing to say that the area should have representative local government and quite another thing for Government, the Church, or anyone else to muster the skills necessary to organize them. The biggest attempt to accomplish this has been made by the Roman Catholic Church. These efforts were reviewed in Chapter I and in the last section.

Attempts to organize prior to urban renewal only captured the imaginations of a few. These attempts involved approaching officials for services or favors and were not aimed at organizing a body which itself could deal directly with the problems of the area. Hence, to outside officials, the situation has always been one of confusion over whom to contact in the community when a problem arises. The attempts by St. John Bosco Parish to organize residents into definite groups is a new undertaking. The establishment of the Metropolitan Area Board before any of this had taken place, then, must have been seen as the most expedient way of dealing with a mounting crisis in the absence of any other identifiable group to handle problems.

Election of a provincial member and of a federal representative are the only two occasions at which the people from Blackhead Road may participate in voting for government officials. In both instances, the community is only a small part of two large voting districts which also encompass part of the city of St. John's. The boundaries of the provincial voting district which encompasses the community has tended to become smaller over the years. In most elections, this district, St. John's South, has voted against the Liberal Government which has been in power since Newfoundland joined Canada 21 years ago. Hence, there appears to be evidence of some dissatisfaction.

During the provincial elections of 1949 and 1951, Blackhead Road was part of the St. John's West voting district. This was a huge area which encompassed half the City. In the 1949 provincial election, St. John's West voted Liberal. In 1951, the voting district went over to the Progressive Conservatives.

By 1956, the provincial voting districts in St. John's were readjusted, and the district of St. John's South was created. In 1956, the St. John's South district went to the opposition. In the succeeding two elections, 1959 and 1962, it again voted for the opposition (Smallwood, Joseph R., ed., Vol. III, 1967:173-178). In 1966, a change occurred. St. John's South voted for John Nolan, a Liberal. Some claim this was the result of promises about impending urban renewal and the hope that vast improvements would be made in the area.

These election results may not necessarily be indicative of the political leanings of all the people in Blackhead since the area is part

of a much larger voting district. Moreover, while one often finds discouragement and suspicion regarding the Government, it is not uncommon to find a measure of self-blame for conditions. Indeed, some blame things on what they call their own stupidity or on their failure to become educated.

Conclusions

A number of topic areas have been covered thus far in an attempt at presenting an over-all view of life in the community of Blackhead Road. To assess this picture, the community will be examined in terms of two sets of criteria. The first set is related to the physical composition of the community. The second set of criteria involves community integration and disintegration.

Klein offers a list of five items to establish how a community should be mapped in order to establish how homogeneous a neighborhood it is (Klein, 1968:81).⁶

1. The existence of natural or other physical barriers to social interaction -- In the eastern valley section of the community, there are a number of homes which have no road access. However, in most of these cases a foot path exists. Entrance to the community is via one road in the western sector.
2. Assessed valuation of property -- Property values throughout the whole Blackhead Road area are low. With expropriation, the

⁶Taken from C. A. Lewis, "A Technique in Social Geography for the Delimitation of Residential Sub-Regions." Unpublished Doctorial Dissertation, Harvard University, Department of Geology, 1956.

Government has suggested between \$900 and \$2,000 for homes (Project Planning Associates, Part III, 1966:7).

3. Date of house construction -- While there is some variance in the date of house construction, there are no physical appearances to make this noticeable. Most of the homes in the area were built during the depression and the Second World War prior to any restrictive legislation.
4. The appearance of homes -- There does not appear to the visitor any outward sign which suggests that the best built homes are clustered together in any way.
5. Distribution of major ethnic groups -- The community is not distinguishable on the basis of ethnic backgrounds. The only possible difference exists with respect to religion and, as we have seen, this has not presented any major problem.

Hence, using Klein's criteria, we must conclude that the community, for the most part, is homogeneous. Where a difference does occur, it may best be seen in east-west terms. The west is more densely populated, is where all major institutions are located, and is where the access road to the City and the outside world is situated.

Seven criteria are offered by Hughes, Tremblay, Rapoport, and Leighton as preliminary indicators of community disintegration (Hughes et al., 1960:4).

1. A recent history of disaster -- With the closing of two fish plants, the community was hit with an economic disaster.
2. Widespread ill health -- Here, little reliable data exists, although in Chapter II it was seen that, in some respects,

health was poor. This situation is likely to improve with the introduction of Medicare and the new health clinic in the area.

3. Extensive poverty -- In terms of income, the community exhibits considerable poverty. In terms of possessions, however, the extent of poverty in the community may be open to question. While most homes are below minimum property standards, the residents do own them and prefer them to more modern public housing. These homes, when thought of in terms of the security they provide, may be considered as an asset and not a liability by the residents. Hence, while lack of income and employment present a threat, home ownership helps offset the seriousness of this.
4. Cultural confusion -- As pointed out previously, there are no ethnic splits, and the religious ones that do exist are not seriously divisive.
5. Widespread secularization -- This is on the increase with the exposure to rapidly expanding St. John's and the varied ideas and influences coming in upon it from the U. S., England, and mainland Canada. In addition, church attendance is low throughout the community, but there is still a great respect for the Church and a dependence upon it to improve education and organized facilities.
6. Extensive migration -- In a static community such as Blackhead Road, migration has not been a serious issue.

7. Rapid and widespread social change -- This may be said to be characteristic of Blackhead Road beginning with the influence of the Church, especially with respect to the building of St. John Bosco School. Urban renewal, however, is the most radical of all influences and is expected to transform much of the community within a three year period. The effects of this are the subject of the remainder of this thesis.

Hughes, Tremblay, Rapoport, and Leighton offer five additional confirmatory indicators of disintegration. While a great deal of information is lacking on these points, brief mention will be made of these indicators. For each indicator, a short assessment will be made, but it will be up to the reader to refer back to the relevant sections in this chapter and those of Chapter II for specifics.

1. High frequency of broken homes -- There does not appear to be a large problem over this throughout the community.
2. Few and weak leaders -- Among the residents, few leaders have emerged. Most leadership has been prompted by outside sources.
3. Few and weak associations -- This does not appear to present a problem among members of the community as evidenced by their high interrelatedness.
4. Few patterns of recreation -- This does not appear to be a great problem especially because of the efforts of the Church.
5. High frequency of hostility -- While the community suffers from a bad reputation, this author could find only some isolated cases of antisocial behavior.

In addition, there appears to be little crime in the area, and most people take a great deal of pride in their homes. The latter is evidenced by their cleanliness and the improvements which residents have made when they could. Hence, Blackhead Road may not be thought of as a "blighted" area since to do so would indicate decay or destruction. While recent economic hardships have had some influence on how much residents could do to their homes, generally the homes have not been allowed to decay. On the basis of the above criteria, then, Blackhead Road cannot be thought of as a disintegrated community.

While the community, at this stage, is not disintegrated, it would be wrong to assume that this could not happen. Against the background of out of business fish plants, a rapidly expanding St. John's which is depending more and more on skilled labor, together with the low educational level of the area, a sense of futility presents a major threat to the community. In past sections, we have reviewed this by pointing to the lack of participation in organized activities and the poor response to adult education attempts. Evident, too, is the high pitch of enthusiasm which can be worked up at public meetings only to leave and have nothing happen. Some residents point to this as evidence that the community lacks spine. Hence, there is something to be said for the clergy's observation that emotionalism runs high. This sense of futility or the feeling that they are "stupid and inferior" makes it easy for the people to rally around an outsider willing to help. In the case of Father Shea, they rally around a sympathetic establishment figure who appears to be honest with them and who can offer hope. Honesty appears to consist of telling them what they

already think they know. To this extent, Father Shea has innocently reinforced their own view of themselves. For example, he has criticized the men in the Finance Committee and Holy Name Society for not taking a sufficient interest in things and has concluded in front of them that the community lacks spine. His purpose has been to scold them into action. Father Shea has worked hard in the community, but his scoldings often appear to come from his own discouragement in not having the knowledge or resources to help the community with some of its long-range problems. This discouragement does not apply to his efforts to educate the children. In this area, he has had considerable success, although probably not as much as he would like since Father Shea is a man who is always trying to do even better than before. Nevertheless, his scoldings and his tendency to accept a position in which things depend largely upon him has not contributed to the development of local leadership. The more he scolds, the more the residents will agree with his deductions. The more he works, the more dependent the residents will come to be on him. In this last respect, Father Shea has not been alone by any means as evidenced by some attitudes expressed by the Anglican Church and the Government's handling of urban renewal. Says Scheff:

The proposition may also be reserved: having an audience that acts toward the individual in a uniform way may lead the actor to play the expected role even if he is not particularly interested in doing so. The 'baby of the family' may come to find this role obnoxious, but the uniform pattern of cues and actions that confronts him in the family may lock in with his own vocabulary of responses so that it is inconvenient and difficult for him not to play the part expected of him. To the degree that alternative roles are closed off, the proffered role may come to be the only way the individual can cope with the situation (Scheff, 1967:56-57).

Hence, difficulties have arisen when it has come time for residents to speak to "educated" officials or outsiders in a formal capacity. Many are afraid to ask questions or to ask the meaning of "big words" when they are spoken. For others though, the situation is changing. This success, to a great extent, has also been the result of Father Shea's efforts through his continuous search for new ideas and outsiders who can help with the circumstances.

CHAPTER IV
BACKGROUND OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT, URBAN RENEWAL,
AND THE PROJECT AT BLACKHEAD ROAD

Definition of Urban Renewal and Community Development

A definition of urban renewal to which everyone will agree is difficult to determine since historically its meaning has stemmed from two sources, the legal and the popular interpretations. The basic concepts around which the legal and popular vernacular definitions usually center are improved housing conditions and industrial zoning. These two areas of preoccupation are implemented within a defined acreage set by a local planning office. In the United States, Britain, and Canada, such a practice usually calls to mind the demolishing of a blighted area in the central core of a city and the relocating of its inhabitants. Where the idea has been introduced in Canada, urban renewal has most often been associated with some form of public housing construction to take care of those displaced through the urban renewal process. Yet, while urban renewal has been advocated as a means by which the poor may have upgraded living standards, this objective has most often gone hand in hand with a second main objective. This second objective is to raise the general efficiency of the city as a whole either through improved practices of land use or by raising property values and hence raising the tax base.

The image of urban renewal as presented above -- "demolition and relocation" -- is a stereotype that has arisen perhaps because this form of urban renewal has been the most widely publicized and the most controversial. Much of the literature in sociology, for example, deals in some way with the nature of relocation practices and their results. Generally, this literature has been preoccupied with a dissatisfaction over how relocation practices have been implemented, the goals and results of such practices, and how they may be improved. This is because up until now, most urban renewal projects on the North American Continent have included a "permanent" relocation policy for at least some, if not all, of the people affected by a project. Urban renewal, however, consists of more programs than "demolition and relocation" as the concept is applied today. Other aspects, such as "rehabilitation" and "conservation", have come to take on a great deal of prominence.

Perhaps the best way to approach a formal view of what urban renewal may consist of is to present two descriptions side by side. Description "A" is a legal definition and is comprised of what is expected to be included in a plan for urban renewal as prescribed in the Canadian National Housing Act. Definition "B" is the conception of a planning firm located in the western United States.

Definition "A"

a) "urban renewal area" means a blighted or substandard area of a municipality for which the government of the Province in which the area is located has approved the implementation of an urban renewal scheme; and

Definition "B"

....there are five basic treatment mechanisms which can be applied to meet the needs of specific areas (Arthur D. Little, Inc., 1966:140). They are:

b) "urban renewal scheme" means a scheme for the renewal of a blighted or substandard area of a municipality that includes

i) a plan designating the buildings and works in the area that are to be acquired and cleared by the municipality in connection with the scheme and for making available to persons disposed of housing accommodation by such acquisition or clearance, decent, safe, and sanitary housing accommodation at rentals that, in the opinion of the Corporation, are fair and reasonable having regard to the incomes of the persons to be dispossessed,

ii) a plan describing the proposed street pattern and land use for the area, and the program for the area, and the program for the construction or improvement in the area of municipal services, schools, parks, playgrounds, community buildings and other public facilities,

iii) a description of the methods planned for municipal direction and control of the use of land in the area, including zoning, building controls and standards of occupancy of buildings in the area,

iv) a description of the methods planned for the improvement, rehabilitation or replacement of privately owned facilities, including housing accommodation that will continue in the area, and the techniques planned for retarding such facilities from becoming substandard, and

1. A clearance and redevelopment project -- This type of redevelopment is often known as "demolition-relocation" or "the bulldozer approach". Under such a program land is cleared of all structures and may be put to any use under a city's master plan. The former residents in such a program are either away from the area or are placed in new housing (e.g. public housing) on the site.

2. A conservation and rehabilitation project --this kind of federally-assisted urban renewal project would be effective. It is a plan to restore the economic and social values of deteriorating residential areas which are basically sound and worth conserving and in which existing buildings, public facilities, and improvements can be economically renewed to a long term condition.... Any clearance in a conservation-rehabilitation project is confined to "spot" clearance to remove blighting influences and buildings unfeasible of rehabilitation or to provide land for public improvements or facilities (126-127).

3. Concentrated code enforcement coupled with environmental improvements -- To be applied "when the decline in housing quality results principally from noncompliance with housing and related codes...." (119).

4. District housing inspection and public improvements through the Capital Improvement Program -- To be carried out by normal housing inspection procedures where deficiencies are minor. In improving public facilities the cost may be met with general city funds (128).

v) the estimated costs of the scheme and that will be developed in accordance or in harmony with an official community plan (Canada, National Housing Act, 1954:Part III, s. 23).

5. Reconditioning -- "This approach involves code enforcement, but does not require that conditions involving major structural changes or improvements be corrected unless they constitute an immediate health or safety hazard or detract from the general livability of the structure." This type of program should be implemented in "....those rebuilding neighborhoods where more extensive treatment is contemplated but not scheduled in the immediate future...." (118-119).

As can be seen, some differences do exist between what the National Housing Act and the planning firm conceptualize as urban renewal.¹ For example, the National Housing Act includes provisions for acquiring buildings and clearing land, and for rehabilitation as does the planning firm. However, the National Housing Act's demand for a "description of planned municipal direction and control of use of land" is weaker than the planning firm's concentrated code enforcement coupled with environmental improvements" under another heading.

Given these differences as they pertain to specific stipulations, both have a number of things in common with most other urban renewal projects, however varied. From the two above definitions of urban renewal, it may be seen that terms such as "rehabilitation program" and "redevelopment program" may be used synonymously with "urban renewal". As is often the case with more sensitive town planners attempting to rid them-

¹The term "community renewal" is common among some authors and planning firms when referring to conservation, rehabilitation, and code enforcement projects.

selves of the image of "demolition and relocation", other terms may be used to refer to a project where a particular emphasis of approach is being used.

Also, from the two above definitions of urban renewal, it may be seen that the emphasis lies squarely on some form of physical redevelopment rather than social development, although projects are usually attempted with the justification that social benefits will result. With respect to this, then, the hope has been to effect social change by employing methods of physical change.

The object of what is known as "community development" has generally been the opposite. This method very often places its emphasis on upgrading people socially through bringing them job training programs, education, and by teaching techniques on how to organize community groups. Here, social change may be effected in the hopes of bringing about physical change. An example of this would be the attempt to improve housing conditions by teaching people how to make their own home improvements, or in teaching them how to form co-operatives. How one goes about implementing community development may be varied.

With respect to community development, a precise definition is difficult to formulate since there are no uniform rules to which the public at large or government agencies funding such programs may ultimately refer. Here then are presented two possible approaches to formulating a definition. To begin, the Company of Young Canadians say:

Community development is that process by which a community, however defined, consciously takes better advantage of its human, economic and natural resources, or seeks out new

resources. The term is used so broadly, and practised in so many ways, that it is of very little definitive use today (Company of Young Canadians, 1969:16).

A second approach to defining community development which is worth taking a look at is offered by Anthony John Loyd. He notes that there are two types of community developers: the "generalist" and the "specialist".

The generalist has his main responsibility for overall development, and the means by which he achieves this is by encouraging the community to utilize its inner resources, to identify its own needs and, wherever possible to effect the change themselves.... A specialist or professional in community development has his main responsibility in one field of interest, such as education, health, agriculture, welfare, religion, or recreation. His approach has often been that of the external agent or expert who diagnoses a situation, prescribes for its solution, persuades people to undertake his plan, and ultimately his success is measured and determined by the degree to which the project is accepted in the particular area which has been designated (1967:9-10).

Loyd further notes, using the United Nations Bureau of Social Affairs as a base, that there are four elements which are usually (but not always) the basis of community development projects. These are:

1. A planned program for the needs of the total community.
2. Self-help as a basis for the program.
3. Technical assistance from Government and other organizations.
4. Integration of specialist services (Ibid.:9).

Loyd's theme may be broken down still further under his heading of the "generalist". As a subclassification under the heading "generalist", we find the community organizer. Here, James Q. Wilson points out that we may find two radically different strategies. One is built upon the fears which residents may have and tries to capitalize on this. The

second approach attempts to define 'positive' goals and works in collaboration with relevant city agencies (1968:415-416).

In the first case, the community organizer is usually called upon by a group of residents already formed who may feel themselves to be floundering. The lessons to be learned may include how to understand government bureaucracy, e.g., how to slow it down; or the lessons may include how to demonstrate or protest. In the second case, the community organizer may be called upon by Government to enter an area to help form an identifiable community group which they can deal with, or he may be called upon to do this by some church or local agency. In other instances, he may be called upon by some community organization already in existence to work toward some constructive goal, e.g., Memorial University's Extension Service gave instruction in Blackhead Road on how to conduct a meeting and in public speaking methods at the request of the Blackhead Road Householder's Union.

There are a number of sources from which such people may be picked. For example, the Company of Young Canadians is federally sponsored. In Newfoundland, there is the provincially supported Department of Community and Social Development and Memorial University's Extension Service. Outside of Government and the University exist such independent groups as the Church supported Summer of Service and the well known Saul Alinsky group from Chicago. A central theme among many community organizers who work for such agencies is what may be thought of as a non-directive approach. Here, it becomes the community organizer's job to instill the necessary incentive and to bring to residents the necessary knowledge of

resources so that they may set about solving their own problems. In fact, once a course of action is decided on and the methods for pursuing this course of action are clear, the community organizer may decide that his job is done.

Some social aims which have been suggested above have been incorporated in recent times into urban renewal programs. To be more specific, New York City's West Side Urban Renewal Project designed five action programs. This included the co-ordination of a number of different agencies. Some of these programs included special family counseling by the Department of Welfare, youth training and employment services by the Police Athletic League, and tenant education by the Phoenix, Goddard-Riverside Community Center. In this last program, tenants were instructed in homemaking, child care, and in moving (Greenleigh Associates, Inc., 1965:5). Such attempts as these, however, are often imposed on a community from the outside and do not always necessitate negotiations with a resident organization. Hence, a basic difference between the social aims often applied in urban renewal projects and those applied in community development lie with initiative. Should the initiative rest with the Government or with the community? In urban renewal, the initiative has clearly been the prerogative of the Government, and the underlying emphasis has been on the physical.

Urban renewal is a descriptive term and not a diagnostic one. Past definitions of it have concentrated on what acts or services are to be performed rather on a diagnosis of a problem. To illustrate, the emphasis in approach between urban renewal and community development is much like

the problem posed to a psychologist who must distinguish between the "psychosomatic" and the "somatopsychic". One, in its ideal form, is the diagnosis of a physical symptom caused by a mental problem, while the other is a mental problem caused by a physical one. Urban renewal usually approaches a community problem as if the diagnosis had been the latter or that social problems were the result of physical symptoms. This approach often stems from a city wide master plan that attempts to express things quantitatively and which may place heavy emphasis on the economic or geographic frameworks and little emphasis on the social psychological framework.

A master plan may be prepared by an engineering firm for a city when the city either wants to deal with what it considers to be a bad physical situation, or when it simply wants knowledge about how to improve its over-all physical plant whether a bad situation exists or not.² These plans estimate costs, spell out objectives, and propose courses of action. The details of such action may actually change when more in-depth studies are done concerning the actual implementation of a project. The master plan, then, is often the basis of incentive for the design of an urban renewal project. With this as a base, the planners may or may not seriously consider social problems. Where consideration is given, it may be limited only to those social problems which it is felt may be particularly aggravated by the urban renewal process, such as difficulties in relocating problem families. Consideration may be given to specific

²Not all so-called urban renewal projects utilize a city wide master plan. One argument against it is that it can become too idealistic.

kinds of social work based on results from diagnostic surveys or, as in the case of Blackhead Road where no diagnostic surveys were carried out, an undefined community development program may be paid lip service in the over-all plan.

By combining the basic purposes of urban renewal and community development, we obtain something similar to what is "intended" under the Model Cities Program in force in the United States since 1966. A Model Cities Program may emphasize a number of things from the physical to the social. Ideally, an attempt is made by the Federal Government to give individual cities the incentive to diagnose a community's problem. This is supposed to be done with "meaningful" resident participation (Kaplan, et al., 1969:8). Priorities are next established with such a range of emphases that cities are free to plan any type of program they wish. Hence they may tackle social and economic problems as well as physical decay. Conceivably, then, a Model Cities Program could be implemented which does not call for any clearance approach. Here lies a difference with much urban renewal. However, while attempts were made at "rehabilitation and conservation", some "demolition and relocation" has been planned.

The Model Cities Program resembles community development with respect to its ideal of citizen participation. More than past urban renewal projects, it attempts to encourage initiative from the citizens. However, how this is to be tackled with "meaningful" resident participation has not been defined. Resident participation in these projects has not always materialized as well as it was hoped. In one project, the citizens ended up with only a peripheral role, while in another city conflicts arose be-

tween citizen factions. In addition, deadlines and the pressures of the immediate needs of residents have become a burden to efficient organization (Ibid.:90).

Such considerations as the Model Cities Program represent a method of approach where it is hoped residents will be given a stake in the things which affect their surroundings and thus avoid confrontations from citizens objecting to the way they are manipulated. It is often at the stage where residents feel they have no voice that they will call in a community organizer. Mario Carota, in his study sponsored by the Canadian Association of Neighborhood Services, captured this sentiment when he pointed out:

The citizens are also organizing because as one of them said, 'We, the people, have to organize ourselves to protect ourselves from the people we elect' (1970:12).

It is here that community developers and citizen groups have met with suspicion from local officials. Organizers will sometimes point out that the base of local problems may be neither physical or social at their root but may, in fact, result from the inadequate design of the city administration and its lack of ability to handle problems. These handicaps may be due to a wide range of actual or perceived criticisms such as conflicts over goals, incompetence of individual officials, or some measure of corruption.

Entrenched in the movement for citizens to organize appears to be an attempt to alter the system from one of democracy by representation to one of democracy by participation at all levels. This appears to be best expressed through the formation of such groups as householder unions,

tenant groups, welfare councils, and the more militant avant-garde. The problem with such participation, however, is that it requires an understanding of specialized skills which many resident groups do not possess. Government officials concerned with urban renewal and who wish to involve citizens are faced with a decision. Do they engage themselves in an all-out effort to educate the resident group, or do they try to employ some means to give the resident group some "meaningful" sense of participation which will occupy their time in a passive way? Programs built exclusively around public relations or a selling approach would be examples of the latter. Here, residents may become involved in helping publicize the project, in acting as an intelligence network for the planners, or in setting up forums where individuals may come and discuss their problems. However, they have no means to enforce or change policy.

The former approach, that of educating residents, does not mean that with every urban renewal project a community of architects and competent community designers needs be trained. Residents should, however, have consultants made available to them, and they should be helped to understand what is happening to them. They then should be included in policy decisions. For example, under such a program, residents need to know alternate forms of action open to them; they should be encouraged to think of original ideas and to understand why they can or cannot be implemented; they may need some technical knowledge to offset any deductions concerning technical matters which they may arrive at on their own; and they need to know how to read contracts and other documents which may affect them. These are only some of the ways residents need to be educated in order to participate.

What such a program would propose to do is change the status differences in a social organization set up between planners and residents. Technical knowledge would not have the psychological importance which gives it often unquestionable authority. Instead, the status of the planners would more resemble that of a consultant rather than that of a paternalistic provider of services. Likewise, the residents would become consultants to the planners.

While an argument is not made here for one approach or the other, it should be understood that dealing with such situations is complex and requires much groundwork before a project is undertaken.³ Misunderstandings of these implications have taken their toll in urban renewal projects, Model Cities Programs, and in the War on Poverty in the United States.⁴

To some extent, citizen participation represents one of the successes of the Resettlement Program in rural Newfoundland which shall be briefly explained in a footnote at a later point in this chapter. Much criticism has been leveled at Resettlement along the following lines:

³It can be argued that morally it is right for people to determine their own course, that residents may be able to offer great insight to their own difficulties, and that initiative in planning their own projects is educational and beneficial in other ways to them as human beings. Such an approach, however, is not a measure of "relative" success. Private interests, it can be argued, may get in the way of over-all development of a metropolitan area. The happy medium between these two points is not always easy to find. A more detailed discussion will follow in the Epilogue and Conclusions.

⁴An example of how this can occur is Maximum Feasible Misunderstanding: Community Action in the War on Poverty, by Daniel P. Moynihan.

government planning, where people eventually move, the pressures applied to have people move, not properly informing people what to expect, and the use of public relations to sell the approach. Resettlement, however, has used a maximum of resident participation in carrying through the physical implementation of the Program. While the people have not been involved in any of the over-all planning, resident participation in jacking up and moving homes has been quite successful.

In its annual report of 1969, the Company of Young Canadians note, "...social change automatically has political implications." The degree to which one is willing to admit to the philosophic truth behind this quote depends, of course, on one's point of view regarding social change. Such a view, it would seem, has its most serious ramifications in community organizing for social change rather than in the implementation of professional social work. In the first instance, residents try to take command of the situation by initiating programs and solidifying into an effective bargaining block. In the second instance, they become the passive receiver of services. Perhaps here, then, is the place to distinguish between a "social worker" and a "community developer" or one who may find himself doing community organizing. A social worker is a "specialist" who can deal with a number of specific problems depending on his educational qualifications and experience. A community developer, however, may be a "generalist" dependent upon calling in a "specialist". Or, even if he himself has specialist training, it is not imperative that he be knowledgeable in dealing with all manner of specific sociopathic problems. He may be a teacher (specialist), for example, who spends all his time setting up adult education classes.

In these ways, then, the purposes of urban renewal and community development differ and so do the purposes of a social worker and general community developer. However, each may, in practice, borrow from the other.

Urban Renewal in Canada

Since 1935, a number of relevant acts have been passed by the Canadian Parliament leading to the present situation in urban renewal:

- 1935 -- Passage of the Dominion Housing Act -- Under this act, from October 1, 1935 to July 31, 1938, 3,083 mortgage loans were approved for the construction of 4,889 housing units (Rose, 1958:42).
- 1938 -- Passage of the National Housing Act, 1938 -- Under this act, from August 1, 1938 to January 31, 1945, 18,625 mortgage loans were approved for the construction of 21,414 housing units (Ibid.).
- 1941 -- Creation of Wartime Housing Limited as a Crown Company to construct housing for war workers in urban centres (Ibid.:43).
- 1944 -- Passage of the National Housing Act, 1944 (Ibid.: 45) --

"....the federal government offered to share with municipalities the cost of acquiring and clearing blighted residential areas on condition that the cleared land would be used for low- or moderate-income housing provided by either a life insurance company or a limited-dividend corporation under other provisions of the Act" (Pickett, 1964:233). Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation (CMHC) was set up under this Act to function as the federal agency to administer the National Housing Act.

- 1946 -- Amendment to the National Housing Act authorizing C.M.H.C. to make loans of up to 80 per cent, to resource companies in order to finance housing in new development areas where present lending facilities were non-existent (Federal Task Force on Housing and Urban Development, 1969:4).

1947 -- Provision made to allow "...direct lending by the Corporation wherever there was a lack of the private facilities necessary for joint loans. Out of these provisions has grown Section 40 of the present Act under which C.M.H.C. acts as a direct lender on a residual basis to fill in time or geographic gaps in the private mortgage market" (Ibid.).

The year 1934 saw what was possibly the first Canadian report arguing for low rental housing based on slum clearance as well as on a person's ability to pay rent (Rose, 1958:42). In the same year, an advisory committee was appointed in Toronto to look into housing conditions there. This report had a serious influence on the formation of volunteer groups which worked to create public housing. Housing conferences were then held in Ottawa in 1938 and one year later in Toronto. March 1944 saw the publication of the "Curtis Report" which advocated public housing as a solution to housing shortages that would be created upon the return of World War II soldiers. It is generally recognized that this report was the motivation behind federal legislation in 1944.

Two things are evident from the above. First,

Unlike the United States and the United Kingdom, Canada did not embark upon a public housing program during the depression as one method of coping with the economic crisis (Ibid.:45).

Second, those who were fighting for public housing measures were middle-class people comprised of government officials, university people, businessmen, and employees of various departments such as Health and Welfare. A good portion of their battle dealt with the moral issue of the use of public funds to pay for someone else's rent. As a result of these interests from the private sector of society, the first public housing project

began in 1948 in Regent Park, Toronto as a slum clearance program. By 1956, however, there had only been two clearance and rehousing projects, both in Toronto, and "a small beginning in St. John's" (Pickett, 1964: 234).

Improvements continued to be made in the legislation after 1947:

- 1949 -- The National Housing Act was amended to authorize "...joint federal-provincial participation in public housing projects" -- The cost sharing was to be 75 per cent federal and 25 per cent provincial. "The 1949 amendments also introduced federal participation in land assembly schemes designed to make reasonably priced serviced lots available in areas where a shortage of building sites was limiting residential construction" (Federal Task Force on Housing and Urban Development, 1969:5).
- 1954 -- The National Housing Act of 1954 was introduced -- "This new Act altered the basic method of financing residential construction in Canada from the joint loan system to one of insured loans whereby, rather than participating with private lenders in mortgage financing, the federal government guaranteed loans made entirely by the lending institutions under the terms of the National Housing Act" (Ibid.).
- 1956 -- An amendment was made to the National Housing Act allowing CMHC to assist in financing urban renewal studies by a municipality (Ibid.).
- 1964 -- Further amendments were made. An option was added allowing C.M.H.C. to loan up to "...90 per cent to the provinces or their agents with a 50 per cent sharing in operating costs of the projects" (Ibid.). Federal monies were also made available "for the preparation of renewal schemes and contributions and loans for the actual implementation of civic improvement programs." The Act now provides "...not only for the clearance and reconstruction of blighted areas, but for the rehabilitation and conservation of areas threatened by blight as well" (Ibid.).

Hence, until 1956, urban renewal's major preoccupations had been with public housing to be built on the cleared site. Says Pickett,

Nowhere in Canada has relocation been a major obstacle to carrying out renewal projects. Furthermore, the problem has been eased by the statutory insistence on adequate housing, which has meant that a high proportion of cleared land has been used for public housing and has been the incentive for several large off-site housing projects in which displacees of renewal have received priority (1964: 246).

In other words, there has almost always been adequate provision of housing for those displaced; but like the United States, Canada has encountered the problem of what happens to families who do not relocate under the administrative policies of a given urban renewal scheme. Do they, for example, end up in slums as poor as or poorer than the ones they originally came from?

Urban renewal and public housing projects have been very closely associated; but as we saw in the first section of this chapter, urban renewal is not always limited to just a single aspect of physical rehabilitation. Urban renewal, as we know it now and with its broader approach to land reuse, is an outgrowth of programs originally designed to meet low-income housing needs through public housing. In 1956, the Act was broadened to resemble something closer to urban renewal today, for it had become obvious that housing on reused land was not always suitable in blighted districts. Hence, in that year, it became possible to reuse land for whatever purpose proved desirable under a city wide master plan. Officially, all projects were known as "redevelopment projects" prior to 1964, although the term "urban renewal" has also been widely used to refer back to these projects.

Since 1948, only 48 urban renewal projects in Canada have been authorized for implementation (Federal Task Force on Housing and Urban Development, 1969:6). This may be compared to the United States where, in 1966 alone, there were 1,812 approved urban renewal projects (U. S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, 1968:30). With regard to the Canadian scene says Lipman:

The renewal which has taken place in Canada has mainly been of the redevelopment type, with the resultant displacement of many families and individuals forced to move because their dwellings were torn down.... In spite of the emphasis on the social aims and goals of urban renewal and slum clearance, economic considerations have become primary (1968:2, 9).

Two reasons Lipman offers for this are: 1) The effect of "...manipulation of money supplies and interest rates has a profound effect on the economy", and 2) Municipalities have lacked the funds "...to meet the costs of increasing services at a time when assessment was decreasing", and hence have decided to employ urban renewal as a way to offset this. But other reasons have prevailed which have made some contribution affecting the types of projects and matters of policy which have been carried out. According to one former executive of CMHC, prior to 1964, the philosophy of those connected with the Corporation tended to be over-emphasized in terms of environment and structure. A second executive, formally a branch manager, elaborated on early impressions of the poor having TV antennas sticking up from the roofs of their crumbling homes. At that time, this was viewed as an extravagance and was seen by some with dismay. He pointed out that today it has become recognized that the poor need some form of diversion like everyone else; an escape from their

daily circumstances. A third executive listed three past stumbling blocks: a) Municipalities tended to place emphasis on non-residential renewal, b) Where emphasis has been on residential renewal, they have been slow to take on their costs, and c) It was once theorized that blighted housing existed, not because the poor lacked monetary resources for upkeep, but because the poor had instead taken on too many debts. This, he said, was not the case. Many living in blighted housing were altogether without monetary resource. Reflecting back on past urban renewal projects, a fourth (former) executive and author of the Final Report which outlined the plan for the project in Blackhead Road, commented, "For what were essentially social reasons, a less than satisfactory physical solution was found." A fifth executive, a man considerably younger than the above four who were interviewed, expressed his views on subsidized home ownership in urban renewal projects for the future. He refused to consider subsidized home ownership as an acceptable prospect because, in his opinion, it would make getting a home too easy and curtail a man's drive and initiative to strive for outright possession.

Not all CMHC executives share the same views by any means, but what is made clear by these five interviews is the importance which personal views can have when a proposal is made.⁵ While CMHC claims to be nothing more than a lending institution, the sentiments which its employees hold

⁵Most of the five executives cited appear to have very different views today than they had before and are searching for new proposals to implement. A total of seven executives were contacted. They consisted of members of the Central Advisory Group, and past and present employees of the local branch of CMHC.

can determine the force with which a proposal is sometimes argued, presented, and received by individuals in authority. This has important implications as was pointed out by the head of the local St. John's office of the Department of The Secretary of State, Citizenship Branch:

Today we are in the age of the 'Technocrat' who is an employee, a specialist, and who often shares equally with the politicians in the decision making.

With public housing projects, the cost is split with the Province paying 25 per cent and the Federal Government, through CMHC, paying 75 per cent. All initiative for such projects stems from the municipality which then approaches the Province (Feldman, 1963:322). The same basic procedure applies to urban renewal projects under the 1964 changes. That is, the municipality must take the initiative in suggesting the urban renewal project and bring its ideas to the Province. The general practice has been, then, for the municipality to pay 25 per cent of the cost, for the Province to pay 25 per cent, and the Federal Government is responsible for the remainder of the project's cost. This, however, should not be taken as a blanket statement of cost sharing.

Although it is representative of a general procedure, exceptions to it may be found. Blackhead Road is one of these exceptions since the Metropolitan Area Board, or the local government, has no independent source of income of its own. Here, the Province and the Federal Government have agreed to share the costs on a fifty-fifty basis. In the instance of Blackhead Road, the concept of a fifty-fifty cost-sharing basis may be thought of more in terms of theory than practice. The reason lies, in part, with the legal wording of the National Housing Act and also stems

from past decisions of policy laid down by CMHC. While section 23 of the National Housing Act (cited in full, pages 143-145) calls for certain items to be included in a plan for urban renewal, there is no guarantee under section 23B that CMHC will partake of one-half of all of the itemized costs included in a plan. Hence, as regards Blackhead Road, there were certain items in the plan which the Province knew from the start that it would have to fund some other way. With regard to certain other items, however, there were some surprises in store.

Briefly then, the procedure followed in initiating urban renewal in Blackhead Road was as follows: In 1957, Canadian-British Engineering Consultants were hired to complete a master plan for St. John's and its surrounding metropolitan area. This was completed, but little was done by way of implementing any of their proposals. Then in 1961, another plan for St. John's and its outlying districts was completed, this time by Project Planning Associates. In the early 1960's, the Metropolitan Area Board was established to govern the one-mile fringe area surrounding the City. This Board, financed by the Provincial House of Assembly, initiated another study and a plan pertaining only to its jurisdiction. This was carried out by the Provincial Planning Division of the Department of Municipal Affairs and Supply. Following this in 1965, Project Planning Associates were called in to survey Blackhead Road, outline means of redeveloping the area, and recommend a course of action. Their suggestions were contained in a study called "An Interim Report on Urban Renewal at Blackhead, Near St. John's, Newfoundland for the St. John's Metropolitan Area Board". Debates on these proposals followed. Once

agreement was reached, the Province approached CMHC under section 23A of the National Housing Act for funds to compile a plan for an urban renewal scheme. The cost was split fifty-fifty by the Provincial and Federal Governments. When funds for the preparation of a scheme were agreed to, a consultant engineering firm was hired to draw up the Scheme. In this case, Project Planning Associates were again hired. This led to the completion of "Blackhead: St. John's Urban Renewal Scheme" in 1966. Originally, this document was released under four separate covers as each section was completed. In 1967, all sections were placed under one cover with appropriate amendments and released under the name of "Blackhead: St. John's Urban Renewal Scheme: Final Report". This was sent to CMHC for their approval which was given "in principal".

Once approval of the Scheme in principal was granted, the Province submitted an application to CMHC for an urban renewal project. The application broadly specified the items which the Province wanted CMHC to share with them. This application was reviewed in Ottawa. There the decision could be made to accept all or part of the application. With the acceptance of the application, an agreement was drawn up and entered into by CMHC, the Honorable Minister of Municipal Affairs and Housing (for the Province), and the St. John's Metropolitan Area Board. The agreement did not go into detail over items, but dwelt mainly on the subject of the lump sum of money to be allotted and on those terms under which CMHC was also to lend the Province money so that the Province could meet its fifty per cent of the cost. With the agreement signed, the Province then issued tenders for the job. Here, each item had to be

spelled out in minute detail, whereas before they had been outlined in more general terms. Before a contractor could be hired, CMHC in Ottawa had to approve the tenders. Here, it should be understood that, as pertains to the project in Blackhead, different tenders covering different aspects of the work were submitted at different times. Hence, at a late point, arguments developed over the interpretation of some of the items given initial approval in the application and financed in the agreement. Ottawa insisted on the deletion of certain items included in later tenders which both the Province and the local branch of CMHC had understood to be settled issues. At any rate, with the first tender finally approved by Ottawa, work was ready to begin on the Blackhead Road project in the late summer of 1968.

Proposals for Development

As a result of the grave concerns of the Department of Health over the physical conditions of the community and because such studies as the 1961 city survey indicated that Blackhead Road suffered the worst conditions of any area in or around the City, Newfoundland's first urban renewal project was planned under the 1964 regulations. Following Blackhead Road, two other projects were planned. One was for the city of Corner Brook located on the west coast of the island, and the other was for the Mundy Pond area of St. John's. In the meantime, talks were beginning on what to do about the poor conditions existing in the Battery.

The rationale upon which a number of decisions were made over Blackhead Road resulted from the Interim Report of 1965 prepared by Project

Planning Associates. Basically, two alternatives were considered: a) remove the community, or b) improve it.

The first alternative was broken down into two courses of action. Course one called for the relocation of the people from Blackhead and placing them in "medium-sized" public housing. The capital cost for this was estimated to be \$6,671,100 of which 91 per cent was for the construction of public housing. The remainder was for the acquisition of structures and clearance of the community. Under this plan, the people would be relocated into "...orthodox public housing, built under the terms of the National Housing Act, on sites in St. John's" (Project Planning Associates, 1965:16).

Course two, estimated to have a capital cost of \$4,236,000, called for the provision of "...the provincial minimum standard house, built and owned by a public authority, on sites outside the City" (Ibid.). Similarly, under this course, more than two-thirds of the capital cost was estimated to be for the construction of provincial public housing.

Neither of the two courses of action under the first alternative were accepted. The advantages of the above two courses were seen to be the easy administration of the program and the fact that the program could be brought to a conclusion within "...a two or three year period." Disadvantages of these courses of action were "social" implications and the "cost" involved. The Interim Report viewed public housing as a continuing financial liability over many years. For example, subsidized rents would be a continuing drain on the treasury. The social disadvantages were seen as follows:

....the loss of 'independence', the necessity of spending limited resources on rent and the range of consumer goods needed in standard housing, the increased distance from work of most of those regularly employed and the break up of the community itself....(Ibid.:18).

The second alternative, to improve the community, was seen as the answer to the social disadvantages in the above statement. Furthermore, since most of the residents had professed to "loving" the area and had expressed strong desires to remain, justification for urban renewal loomed greater. Recommended under this program were new roads, sewers, and running water at an estimated cost of \$2,749,650. This figure also includes estimates of clearing the land, preparing the site, and sundry expenses. Under the National Housing Act, then, the cost to the Province would only be \$1,374,825. Hence, course two provided both a social and cost solution when compared to the first alternative of relocation. Then too, under urban renewal, recoveries could be made by selling serviced lots to people who might move in from outside the community, a feature not existent in the public housing approach. At this time, public housing was not recommended for the community, but a system of co-operative housing was. Moreover, said the Interim Report:

In addition to these costs further grants to individuals totalling approximately \$240,500 to assist in moving houses to new sites and in the provisions of sanitary facilities, are suggested. The National Housing Act does not provide for assistance of this kind in normal urban renewal projects. In view of the special problem of fringe-area blighted communities it is thought that a basis for cost sharing might exist and be the subject of negotiations between the Province and C.M.H.C. (Ibid.:26).

With the Interim Report completed, the planners decided to solicit one more opinion on the area. To this end, Dr. Robert Stebbins of

Memorial University's Department of Sociology and Anthropology was contacted. His four-page study, which relied on Interim Report statistics, was based on informal interviews and his impressions of the area.

Stebbins concludes that Blackhead Road is a "subcommunity". He defines this as:

A group of people sharing, within a larger metropolitan area, a limited territory which serves as the base for carrying out the greatest portion of their daily activities. A subcommunity is different from other kinds of communities in at least two ways: it is generally more dependent on the outside world for fulfillment of its daily needs and it lacks a certain amount of control over its own destiny. Yet, these groups are culturally distinct, basing their uniqueness on some common theme which leads their members to isolate themselves from and/or be isolated by the larger community of which they are a part (Stebbins, 1965:1).

Stebbins further concludes that the residents will probably "....take an active role in improving the area" and that this improvement is likely to attract outsiders. Blackhead, concludes Stebbins, "....is most likely then to take on the characteristics of an ordinary city neighborhood" (Ibid.:4). It will be seen, in paragraph 18 of the next section, that the engineering consultants for the project agreed with him.

Blackhead St. John's Urban Renewal Scheme

The poor conditions in Blackhead Road had been on the minds of provincial planners for more than a decade before the urban renewal project began. The author of the Final Report of 1967 had been associated with the provincial planning department in the early 1950's. Currently, he is a consultant planner with Project Planning Associates. In writing the

Final Report, he noted four main influences upon himself. These were:

1) "the ideas of the current Director of Urban and Rural Planning in the Department of Municipal Affairs and Supply, 2) the North Regina project in Saskatchewan, 3) the rehabilitation of desperately poor areas in Puerto Rico....", and 4) early surveys done in Blackhead Road (Personal Correspondence, Author of Final Report to Williamson, June 19, 1970).

The North Regina project in Saskatchewan consisted of 57 dwellings on 12.5 acres of land (Personal Correspondence, Moser to Williamson, July 2, 1970). The project was a relatively small one located in an industrial area. It mainly consisted of clearing the land and relocating the people into subsidized rented housing. However, of particular relevance here, it was also an early attempt at moving homes in good condition to new lots.

In general, Puerto Rico is of interest because, in a number of communities, there exist homes built by their owners. Since the physical setting of such communities resembles that found in Blackhead Road, it is reasonable to suspect that some of the same attitudes toward housing exist there as exist in Blackhead. This comparison, however, will be left until Chapter VI.

In 1967, the booklet entitled "Blackhead: St. John's Urban Renewal Scheme: Final Report" was printed, numbered, and systematically assigned to officials connected with the Scheme. In addition, a short ten-page summary was prepared from it for purposes of public relations and to teach people about the Scheme. Most of the residents of Blackhead Road awaited the new Scheme with optimism since almost 40 years had passed

with little accomplished except for the dramatic improvements made by the Roman Catholic Parish. Almost a year later, provincial and CMHC officials looked with great pride to the plan they hoped would revolutionize the concept of urban development throughout Canada.

The following is a summary of many of the key points of the Scheme and its recommended administrative design (Project Planning Associates, 1967):

1. The basis of the urban renewal scheme at Blackhead is the provision of a full range of public services and utilities to encourage rapid improvement in the condition of existing housing and to allow limited expansion of new serviced lots.... The renewal objective is the real improvement of living conditions and this can only be attained if the housing standard is high enough to demand manifest physical improvement in existing stock (Part I:1, 2).
2. It is recommended that wood posts (foundations) be replaced by concrete or masonry posts or walls (Part I:9).
3. It is recommended that owners be allowed a period of up to three years in which to bring property up to M.P.S. ('National Housing Act Minimum Property Standards') (Part I:10).
4. All owners should connect to the new utilities within one year of installation. To offer incentive for this work -- the most important single renewal action required at Blackhead -- grants of 50% of the cost might be offered by the Province for a period of one year only (Ibid.).
5. "Provincial grants toward the installation of bath units as recommended in paragraph 31" (Part I:11). (This refers to paragraph four above, which quotes paragraph 31 from the Final Report in full).

The logic behind extending provincial grants of this type to Blackhead is on the basis that since 'resettlement grants' are available to

families relocating under the provincial program of resettlement, grants equaling this should be made to families in renewal areas. The money could be used to bring homes up to minimum property standards. Here it is argued that Blackhead Road is merely "...resettlement of the same site."⁶

6. Some forty houses south of the renewal area along the road to Cape Spear will not be able to connect to the new utilities.... Those which are in poor conditions and not giving tolerable accommodation should be demolished. Those which are in good condition and capable of being moved should be offered a serviced lot within the renewal area. Owners of homes who do not wish to take up this option to move and of other houses which, while in reasonable order, are not fit to move will remain in their present location (Part I:12).
7. It is recommended that the procedure followed by the Metropolitan Board should be:

⁶Because of the cost of providing the "outports" with services is prohibitive and because of the lack of job opportunities, the Provincial Government embarked on a program of moving entire communities (often small and isolated) to more centrally located areas. These communities consist of individuals who, in many instances, built their own homes using their own labor. This program, in force in rural Newfoundland and called "Resettlement", has been largely based on self-help where residents have moved their own dwellings to a new site.

The program established under The Resettlement Act of 1965 was a joint effort of the Federal Government of Canada and the Newfoundland Provincial Government in which administration was turned over to the Federal and Provincial Departments of Fisheries. The amount offered to those willing to move was increased greatly. They could get \$1,000 per household plus the cost of moving their personal belongings (Iverson and Matthews, 1968:3).

Eighty per cent of a community must express their willingness to move, and their move must be approved by an administrative "Resettlement Committee" made up of government personnel and representatives from the Department of Fisheries.

- a) Expropriation of the whole area.
 - b) Installation of roads, utilities and services.
 - c) Demolition of condemned houses. Removal to new sites of houses so designated.
 - d) Layout and survey the new pattern of lots and blocks.
 - e) Transfer title of new lots back to owners of existing property which is to remain.
 - f) Offer for sale or lease residential and commercial lands which remain.
 - g) Hold reserved land either for future road construction or to prevent undesirable development (Part II:5).
8. In view of the uncertainties about title and the relatively small proportion of granted or leased land which is actually developed a price of 5 cents per square foot is thought to be reasonable....(Part II:7).

While a number of houses were to be demolished, other houses which were to be moved would receive new lots, and the majority of houses were not to be touched. These homes were to have their lots realigned. Says the Final Report:

- 9. While all the land should be expropriated to obtain clear title and thus allow title to be given for all new lots and blocks, large areas will be returned to existing owners within a relatively short period. The return price of the lots should also be 5 cents per square foot thus completing what is in effect a paper transaction in an efficient way (Ibid.).
- 10. Land for commercial purposes will be available in these small areas. Two areas are for retail stores, one located at the intersection of Blackhead and Valley Roads and the other at the new access highway and Valley Road. There is also a site at the latter location for a gas station. It is recommended that a detailed requirement for stores on each site be developed by the Metropolitan Board or

Province and that the three sites be offered for sale to the highest bidder. It is thought that a price of about \$4,000 per acre might be obtained if the decision to renew is made and road and utility work commenced (Part II:9).

11. The Final Report recommends that 110 houses will be demolished, and it estimates compensation be paid for these 110 homes at market value as follows:

47 houses at \$ 900
22 houses at \$1,020
21 houses at \$1,260
3 houses at \$1,480
17 houses at \$1,700
TOTAL = \$124,540

Of these 110 houses, information was available in the 1965 survey from the families living in 97 of them. In the 97 homes reside 101 families of which only 25, it was estimated, would be in a position to continue home ownership.

Under the Family Homes Expropriation Act, an additional \$2,000 per home was allowed. Family Homes Expropriation Act compensation totaled \$220,000. Total compensation for houses to be demolished then was estimated to be \$124,540 + \$220,000 = \$344,540 (Part II:10 and Appendix B).

12. It is recommended, therefore, that the Province seek federal grants towards the cost of foundations and bath units in order that owners of very limited means may be able to enjoy basic improvements and be encouraged to spend their own money on bringing the property up to standard over a period of years (Part III:3).
13. It is suggested that the provision of public housing under sec. 35 N.H.A. is essential to the rehousing of families displaced by the scheme. Allowing for families not surveyed and inevitable changes in detail, it is recommended that 85 to 100 units be built, of which about 50 would be operated under an agreement with the Department of Welfare whereby the minimum

shelter-rent would be paid to the housing authority of the federal-provincial partnership. The remaining 35 to 50 houses would be operated on a normal rent-to-income basis (Part III:6).

14. With regard to public housing, "These units might be semi-detached and short rows built on a concrete slab and having simple, but safe, space heating" (Part III:7).
15. It is recommended that efforts be made by the Department of Municipal Affairs and the Co-operative Union of Newfoundland to stimulate latent interest in building these houses at Blackhead through construction co-operatives (Part III:10).
16. "The policy of the Government of Newfoundland is to provide cheap serviced lots for at least some of the families moving into selected communities from isolated places which are abandoned" (This refers to "Resettlement". See footnote 6.) "...the Provincial Government wishes to have some serviced lots for sale at Blackhead at the same low price of \$10 per foot...."(Part III:11). "The 56 lots have a total frontage of 2,770 feet, an average width of just over 49 feet per lot. Assuming that 50 of these lots are developed, the recovery from their sales at \$10 per foot frontage would be \$24,700" (Part III:12).⁷

This would put the cost of such lots, referred to as "Minimum Cost Lots", at around \$500 a lot.

17. Aside from lots designated for co-operative housing, minimum cost lots, and public housing,

"...the remaining residential land is subdivided into 233 lots. Allowing for unusable lots, the number available for sale would be 210.... For estimates of recoveries it is suggested that the range of serviced lots prices should be from \$1,500 to \$2,500" (Ibid.)

⁷Fifty-six lots, called minimum cost lots to be sold to displaced residents only at a suggested price of \$500, were originally planned. This figure was later reduced to 50 lots.

As recommended, the community was zoned into three areas:

"Zone 1 -- \$1,500 lots
 Zone 2 -- \$2,000 lots
 Zone 3 -- \$2,500 lots" (Part III:13)
 (See Map I, page 4)

Minimum cost lots were contained in zone one.

18. The future forms of local government which could be used at Blackhead are:

- a. An independent municipality established under the provisions of Section 6 of the Local Government Act of 1961;
- b. A community established under the provisions of the Community Act, 1962; or
- c. An extension of the City of St. John's to include Blackhead through an amendment to the City of St. John's Act.

The first two possibilities are really illusory because Blackhead can never hope to grow into a viable municipality (Part IV:2).

19. In summary, the conclusions of this section of the report are that the renewal program should be the responsibility of the Department of Municipal Affairs and St. John's Metropolitan Board jointly and that the area should, at an agreed point in that program, be taken into the City of St. John's (Part IV:3).

20. Recommended administration to be set up for the project (Part IV:4):

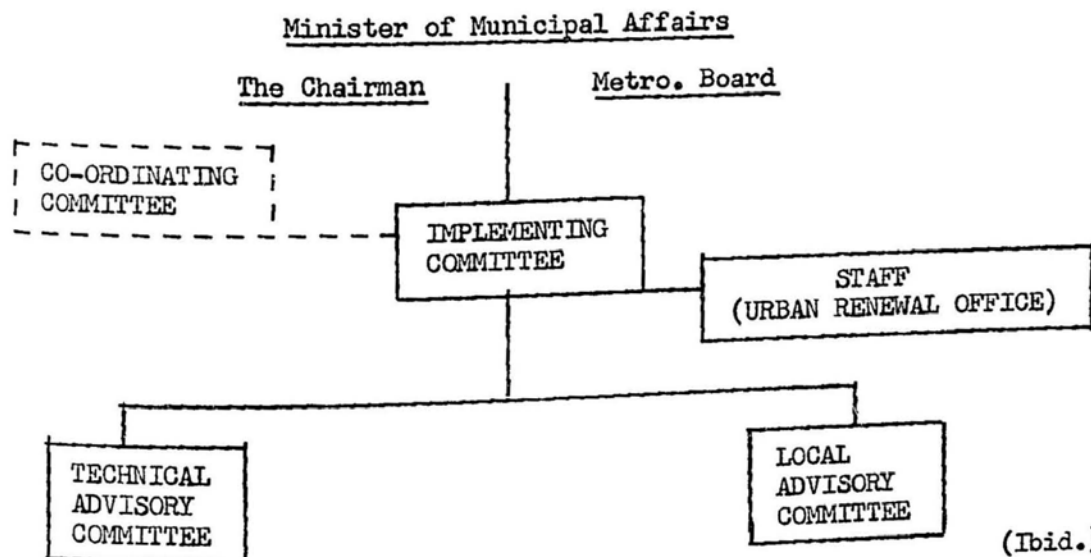
<u>Name</u>	<u>Composition</u>	<u>Duties & Responsibilities</u>
Co-ordinating Committee (Federal-Provincial)	C.M.H.C. Dept. of Municipal Affairs Metro. Board City of St. John's Implementation Committee	Oversee funds granted Reports to Govern- ments concerned Liaison

<u>Name</u>	<u>Composition</u>	<u>Duties & Responsibilities</u>
Implementation Committee	Two provincial officials Three representatives appointed by Metro. Board City of St. John's and Province	Responsible for carrying out program Direct project staff under urban renewal officer Liaison and co-ordination with all agencies and departments
1. Technical Advisory Committee	Two architect planners (CMHC and Province) Engineer Legal advisor Sociologist Urban renewal officer	Review of progress Advice and recommendations to Implementation Committee Assistance to contractors Assistance to staff
2. Local Advisory Committee	Metropolitan Area Board (Chairman) Five members of whom three should be residents of the area Urban renewal officer	Information on the project Forum for residents. Compassionate cases, personal problems, etc.

21.

FLOW CHART I

The Interrelationship of the Three Governing Committees,
as Planned for the Urban Renewal Project



(Ibid.)

22. Staff in the Urban Renewal Office, aside from the Urban Renewal Officer, was recommended as follows:

- "1. Assistant urban renewal officer
2. Building inspector
3. Junior assistant
4. Bookkeeper/clerical assistant
5. Typist" (Part IV:5)

23. Total cost of staff and administrative offices over a three-year period was estimated at \$106,950 (Part IV:8).

The project as recommended, then, included: foundations for some homes; installation of bathrooms (in 201 homes); installation of sewers and water pipes; the connecting of each house to the new water and sewer systems (from the property line to the house); paving roads; the extension of existing roads; the building of new roads; moving at least 57 homes within the boundaries of the project to other sites within the boundaries; moving about 40 homes outside the project to places within the boundaries of the project; engineering implementation, design and supervision; legal fees; compensation for land and houses including the provisions of the Family Homes Expropriation Act; demonstration houses; survey costs; and sundry expenses. Total cost of the project was to be \$4,402,167 of which \$3,025,000 was to be engineering costs. Total recoveries from school and commercial sites, land for public housing (63 lots), land for co-operative housing (38 lots), minimum cost lots (50 lots), and sale of other serviced lots (210 lots) were estimated to be \$545,643. Hence, after recoveries, the total cost was to be \$3,856,524 split fifty-fifty between CMHC and the Province (Part V:10, 11). The monies in recoveries were to be shared equally as well.

In addition, public housing was to be constructed in the area at an estimated cost of \$1,200,000 split 75/25 respectively between GMHC and the Province. Negotiations for this became the responsibility of the Newfoundland and Labrador Housing Corporation (NLHC) as the bargaining agent for the Province and was not the responsibility of any part of the administrative design charged with carrying out urban renewal. Hence, the urban renewal project and public housing were kept separate, except where it became advantageous for the NLHC to negotiate with the urban renewal administration (presented in Flow Chart I) regarding type, quantity, and placement of public housing. Public housing represented a recovery since it was planned that the NLHC would purchase lots from the urban renewal scheme in order to build public housing.

No permanent relocation outside of the community was intended under the project for any residents. Instead, permanent relocation would involve: a) moving houses within the boundaries of the Scheme, b) upon the choice of a home owner, moving a man's house into the boundaries of the Scheme from a place outside the Scheme, and c) moving people living within the boundaries of the Scheme into on-site public housing. "A" and "b" above, especially "b", resembled the "Resettlement" program. Relocation into public housing was to affect 101 families out of 382 families thought to have been within the boundaries of the Scheme. Thus, 26.4 per cent of all families were to go into public housing.

Summary and Conclusions

In this chapter, we have taken a look at the concept of urban renewal, other terms closely associated with it, and contrasted this to community development. Simply expressed, urban renewal deals with the physical. It usually concentrates on territorial and economic dimensions with the hope that some social benefits will result. In recent times, there has been a trend to incorporate social programs within the body of urban renewal schemes. Various overlapping mixtures in dealing with financial, physical, and social aspects have given rise to other terms such as community renewal or Model Cities Program.⁸ The Interim Report of 1965, for example, referred to the proposed development in Blackhead Road as "Community Renewal". However, the term urban renewal may serve as an adequate all-encompassing phrase.

The key issues, as the theme of the Blackhead Road project has developed up to this point, are two in number. They are the installation of basic services and the improvement of privately-owned dwellings. These issues, while central, were later joined by others of importance as we shall see in Chapters V and VI.

The Interim Report went to great lengths to argue for what it called "Community Renewal" and to dispense with public housing. In the Final Report of 1967, however, public housing was reintroduced into the proposals as the most expedient way of dealing with displaced persons. A cultural problem nevertheless arose over this solution. Newfoundland is

⁸ A key aspect of the Model Cities Program in the U. S. was its financial approach. It was intended as a means of supplying direct aid to cities from a Federal source.

a province where, in spite of extreme poverty conditions, most family heads own their own homes. Many have built these homes themselves and have a strong sense of security from home ownership. Speaking about rural Newfoundlanders, Iverson and Matthews note that:

The inshore fisherman or the farmer has perhaps three main protections against the elements, fishing (or farming), government support, and a house. (A fourth source of security, aid from friends and relatives....) (1968:121).

As regards Blackhead Road, the first source of security does not exist. Instead, it must be seen against the diminishing demand for unskilled labor by employers. The second form of security may be seen in terms of old age pensions, family allowances, and welfare. The latter tends to fluctuate since welfare support is used by many of those receiving it as a tide-over to the next job, possibly a seasonal one. The last two sources of security, however, are very much relied upon. Conclude Iverson and Matthews:

Yet, if one can venture the generalization, it is doubtful whether urban middle class Canadians are as preoccupied with housing as are rural Newfoundlanders (Ibid.).

The same may be surmised for low-income Newfoundlanders living on the urban fringe. Thus, while we can see that those whose homes were to be demolished had reason to object, it appears that it was for these same reasons that the planners considered preserving as much of the community as possible. As a result, many of the homes slated for upgrading appear to be little more than shacks.

In reviewing the plan of urban renewal for Blackhead Road, there are four features which, when combined, make it unique among Canadian projects:

1. Emphasis is on "Rehabilitation" rather than on "demolition and relocation". It was not the intention of the project to permanently relocate anyone outside the site of the community.
2. Urban renewal is being applied in a community on the city's fringe rather than in the city's central core.
3. Government cost-sharing is fifty-fifty without a municipality bearing 25 per cent of the cost.
4. Direct participation by the residents in the project was expected in certain ways. These included the supportive role of the Local Advisory Committee as defined in the Final Report; their being expected to make a personal investment in upgrading; their forming co-operatives for housing; their being given the opportunity to submit bids on tenders to tear down houses slated for demolition; and their being hired by construction companies, as requested by the Province, to help build their own urban renewal project.

With respect to point number four, it should be mentioned that not all of these intentions were spelled out in the formal recommendations of the Final Report. In some instances, these ideas for participation were informally incorporated into the Scheme as it progressed.

Next, while the plan does not go into great detail over social rehabilitation and community development, social upgrading was intended to be a part of the implementation of the project through the efforts of a "sociologist". Envisioned in the minds of the planners, however, was something more than a researcher or someone to cope with private problems.

Intended was someone who could act as a community developer and help organize community activities in order to get such things as co-operative housing underway. However, no approach as to how this was to be done was outlined in the plan, which merely paid lip service to such an operation. Emphasis in the plan was on the physical aspects of development. This included the upgrading of existing homes, the installation of sanitary facilities, and the creation of serviced lots. These 210 vacant serviced lots were to open up the Southside Hills to new development which would resemble, to some degree (e.g., standarized lot sizes), a standard housing subdivision.

CHAPTER V

URBAN RENEWAL: THE RESIDENTS AND THE ADMINISTRATION

From what has been said, the project in Blackhead Road may be described as a rehabilitation type urban renewal project. It was intended to upgrade the living standard of the poor in the area and to open up Southside Hills for further metropolitan expansion. During this process, the majority of residents were to remain on the site. However, many things did not work out as planned. The project ran into a number of difficulties beginning with the manner in which resident participation was first established and because of handicaps which developed in the project's administrative framework. These conditions were further aggravated by individual problems on the part of the residents and through some unforeseen difficulties in planning.

This chapter superficially deals with individual issues surrounding the residents involved, leaving a more in-depth discussion for Chapter VI. Important here are the difficulties of the administrative organization, the formulation of resident representation, and the definition of the situation as viewed by the various parties involved.

On January 12, 1968, Premier Joseph Smallwood officially announced the opening of the Blackhead Road Urban Renewal Project (The Daily News, January 15, 1968:1). Construction was not to begin until some months later.

The 1965 Interim Report recommended that the project be divided into two stages. In the Final Report, no such divisions were included. Both the public works part of the project and the upgrading of privately owned homes were to be carried out simultaneously. Nevertheless, the terms "phase one" and "phase two" crept into the language of the residents concerning the implementation of the project. They perceived "phase one" as the installation of public services, while "phase two" consisted of matters directly concerned with housing. This view of the project arose as a rationalization when it became obvious to the members of the Local Advisory Committee (this was a body of residents established by the urban renewal administrators) that the sequence of work being carried out did not follow the work schedule included in the Final Report. In the beginning, then, the emphasis of the urban renewal project lay in the installation of public works (e.g., paved roads, street lights, and main water and sewer pipes).

From the start, the impending project was seen by many as a blessing since indications were that urban renewal would deal with aspects of the community the residents considered handicaps. These handicaps (Chapter III) were seen by the majority of the sample almost exclusively in terms of physical services.

In 1967, the Urban Renewal Office was established. Part of the Urban Renewal Officer's job was to prepare the residents for the urban renewal project. A ten-page summary of the Final Report was prepared for distribution at this time. However, there is no indication that it was ever distributed. Thus, foundations for querying the competence of the

Urban Renewal Officer were laid, and these escalated over the following years. It is also important to note that the recommendation in the Final Report which called for the hiring of a community development worker was not followed at this time. No community development worker was hired until the project was almost a year old. This topic, however, will be dealt with in more detail in the next section. Moreover, no attempt was made by the urban renewal administrators to encourage resident representation and participation until the construction work had already begun and when this body, called the Local Advisory Committee, was formed it unintentionally conflicted with another group of residents already formed to deal with community problems.

Almost a year in advance of the implementation of construction work, active people within the community did see a need for some form of immediate outside help to deal with their problems and alert them to resources. In 1967, talks with Father Shea, the Minister of Municipal Affairs, and the Deaconess Paine led to the involvement of the local citizenship branch of the Department of the Secretary of State. This came under the direction of George Simms. Wrote Simms about his involvement:

We were all aware of the perils of making great physical changes in a community which did not have the social value system, motivation or knowledge to cope with the new situation in a way acceptable to the society which had implemented the changes: the new community and personal responsibilities it implied (Personal correspondence, Simms to Williamson, February 5, 1970).

Sometime in the late spring or early summer of 1968, a public meeting was called to elect individuals to the Local Improvement Committee and discuss the values of organization. This Committee proposed to deal with

unemployment, garbage disposal, dog control, recreation, police protection, small business, and (eventually) urban renewal. Including Simms, there were seven members of which four were women and three were men.

As a representative of the Department of the Secretary of State, Simms' role was different from the others who were all residents. His primary role, as he saw it, was supportive as a resource person. He could not act as a full time community development worker for Blackhead Road as his job at the citizenship branch was defined in terms of a regional liason officer for all of Newfoundland and Labrador.

The first project the Local Improvement Committee dealt with was unemployment. To this end, they saw some success when the Federal Manpower Department agreed to temporarily establish an office in Blackhead Road to compile a special list of names of the unemployed living in the community. Efforts at this time were made to publicize the work of the Committee to the community.

By the end of July, all land in the community was expropriated by the Government. The plan was to expropriate all the land, begin construction at once, and settle with individuals later as land titles were determined. Less than a month later, on August 19, 1968, construction began on the urban renewal project. Almost immediately it became the primary focus of the Local Improvement Committee. In a letter, Simms writes of this early encounter. By looking at the tone of this letter, we can gain some insight into the climate that was created. Simms wrote:

At this point the real fireworks began. The poor are not supposed to ask questions, above all, not question the decisions of the authorities, even when the decisions are

vital and central to the lives of the people and their community. Like how much a person would get for his expropriated property, and how this was to be decided? Like where he would go when he was bought out, in what form he would get his compensation, how he could ensure that he would be able to return when the development was completed? Or, what exactly were the plans in the development for recreation, aside from a blank space on the plan (which the group felt was unsuitable)? What were the plans for schools?

These aren't just hypothetical questions but the real concerns that the people raised at that time. They tried on a number of occasions to get satisfactory answers from the Renewal Officer, who did his best. But he didn't have a number of the answers, and he had some real problems in communicating with the people. I know this, since we talked about it a number of times. When they couldn't get satisfaction from him they invited the Chairman of the Project to speak with them, which he did, and then finally they wrote their elected member, John Nolan, who had become Minister of Municipal Affairs by then. They requested an interview with him to get some straight answers. This letter was seen, on the part of some officials, as threatening behavior, even blackmail and 'pressure tactics'! I was pretty visible, being the only outsider, and I think there was a great deal of suspicion that I engineered the whole terrible plot (i.e., asking their elected member to help them get necessary information) and I have been told there was quite a bit of closed-door discussion about my role.

The other political hassle was over the question of whether I was feeding lies to the group, spreading the rumor that the Project would trade new houses for old on a par basis. This business began at one of the Committee meetings where a high official of the Project had stated this. It was so incredibly 'liberal' that the Committee members had kept returning to this topic with questions of clarification: for example, how could a person who, at the present time, couldn't even keep his shack in shape be able to keep up the maintenance on his new house that he was to be given? During the next few days I did some checking around to verify this and, finding that it was not true, took pains to warn various officials that they should correct this impression. I guess it was at this time that I became identified with the rumor.

On the strength of the rumor C.M.H.C. had their office in Ottawa contact my office there and demand to know what in

hell I was up to, sabotaging their Renewal Project. Naturally, they never contacted me first to check out their facts. The only way I found out about it was when my headquarters phoned me to check it out. This was the only overt official pressure which was ever put on and my Branch supported me. The whole thing blew over but was not forgotten, I'll bet.

My activity waned on the Hill after the 'letter affair' mentioned above. (Incidentally, I never saw the letter to Nolan, let alone helped draft it: this was executed by several Committee members after the decision had been reached by the Committee.) My activity came to a halt simply because I was no longer invited to the meetings. From the very first I had insisted that I was an invited guest, an interested resource person. They had their own leaders: a secretary and two co-chairmen. If they wanted me to attend a meeting, they called and invited me (Ibid.).

These events were remembered by the members of the Local Improvement Committee long after it disbanded and were issues that became a sore point with succeeding citizen groups. Also contributing to the climate was the fact that the members of the Local Improvement Committee interpreted Simms' lack of involvement at a later point as a result of intimidation. From this point, rumors and suspicions began to grow among the populus. Moreover, Simms was under the impression that the Anglican Church authorities had complained about him to the Provincial Government. Whether or not this impression is true, the Deaconess Paine and Canon Babb did not appreciate Simms' presence. Canon Babb noted that he felt that the Committee predisposed the people to be critical. The Deaconess elaborated that Simms tried to leave things to the people to do and that the people really did not know how to do anything and so became frustrated. Said Canon Babb:

It was like throwing them in the water without teaching them to swim. You have to educate people slowly.

Both Simms and the Anglican authorities, then, desired a more comprehensive solution. From the Anglican point of view, a poorly oriented organization might become erratic and do a lot of damage to the project. From its recommendations in the Final Report and from what had been promised and implied, the proposed project had captured the dreams and imagination of not only the residents but also the urban renewal and church leaders. Indeed, even the Roman Catholic position under Father Shea, which had given some support in the past, dealt a blow to the Local Improvement Committee through a closer alignment with a new group of residents called the Local Advisory Committee.

In keeping with the Final Report (Flow Chart I, pages 175-176), the Government proceeded to establish the Local Advisory Committee. To do this, Canon Babb and Father Shea were asked to recommend residents from their flocks for appointment by the Minister of Municipal Affairs. One of the members of the Local Improvement Committee approached Father Shea and requested appointment to the Local Advisory Committee. Father Shea made it clear that certain parties from the Local Improvement Committee would not be welcome on the Local Advisory Committee. He further noted that the appointments of certain people might be looked upon with disfavor among the urban renewal leaders. As a consequence, such appointments might hamper the Local Advisory Committee's goodwill with the officials. Yet, other members from the Local Improvement Committee were appointed. The following is a case in point that Father Shea's fears were correct: When one very high official was interviewed and asked why appointments were made to the Local Advisory Committee rather than posi-

tions held through a general election, he answered, "because we might get a bunch of 'loud mouths'." In essence, the urban renewal administration hoped that quality of participation could be obtained on the Local Advisory Committee if church leaders, familiar with the community, picked the Committee's members. On the other hand, it was the view of the resident who had been denied membership on the Committee that Government was afraid to have certain questions asked. The result was a general feeling of mistrust on both sides. Some residents became suspicious of the motives behind choosing membership to the Committee, while the Government feared that irresponsible individuals might gain membership on the Local Advisory Committee unless there was some control. In addition, the planners appeared to feel that Blackhead Road was in need of help, which they were the most qualified to provide, and that if residents were let in on policy meetings, the delicate balance of negotiations might be upset or rumors could spread and cause panic. Hence, all top-level meetings were kept private.

Rumors were something the officials were very cautious about and with good reason, for many rumors developed about the project. They were based on speculation, and correct and incorrect information that filtered down from various sources, e.g., a construction worker overhearing part of a conversation between a foreman and engineer. The seriousness with which these rumors grew, however, was facilitated by the lack of official information circulating in the community.

Other fears expressed by the officials became manifest. For example, after the Local Advisory Committee folded, it was replaced by an elected

citizens' body called the Householder's Union. During the nominations for candidates, an illiterate member of the community was suggested for the position of Secretary-Treasurer. While this person was not elected, from one point of view, it represents a measure of irresponsibility; for how could such a person be expected to carry out the duties of keeping minutes or sending correspondence? From another point of view, however, the situation does not appear irresponsible. From this point of view, the nomination of such a person may be seen as an attempt to select people who are trusted at large. In other words, it could be viewed as a play to elect a man to a group position of authority where someone else could take on the actual duties of day-to-day business. From what has already been noted about the establishment of a hierarchy within local resident groups in Blackhead Road, it would seem unlikely that a Union Executive would be run rigidly. Again, under the Householder's Union, one elected official took it upon himself, without consulting anyone, to make local headlines expressing some of the more delicate affairs being dealt with by his companions on the Union Executive.

Yet while both sides, the officials and the residents, appear to have had good reasons for their fears of one another, neither side effectively solved the problem. The officials attempted to approach the residents through the Local Advisory Committee which they expected to serve in a passive capacity. Its purpose was not to decide policy, but rather to play a supportive role as outlined in the Final Report.

Urban renewal became the focal point of the people's attention. Under the circumstances, attention focused on the Local Advisory Committee.

By comparison, interest in the Local Improvement Committee dropped. Several members of the Local Improvement Committee were appointed to the Local Advisory Committee. At first they tried playing a dual role but eventually lost interest in the Local Improvement Committee. In addition, with Simms no longer at meetings, the Local Improvement Committee lost what some felt to be its main support. While Simms had played, in his own mind, a supportive resource role, to a number on the Committee his presence was a unifying factor.

From the start, the Local Advisory Committee saw itself in a different role from the Local Improvement Committee. At the first meeting of the Local Advisory Committee the minutes ran:

The Local Improvement Committee is not related to the Scheme. It is a community project comprised of the residents of the area under the guidance and support of Mr. (Simms), the Regional Liason Officer for Newfoundland. This Committee was developed to improve conditions in the area. The Local Improvement Committee will relate to the Local Advisory Committee any complaints which they have received. It is hoped that a liason will be kept between both Committees (Local Advisory Committee, Nov. 6, 1968:3).

While the Local Advisory Committee saw itself co-operating with the Local Improvement Committee, it became the more dominant of the two, and the Local Improvement Committee disbanded. However, the Local Improvement Committee was not forgotten by those who had served on it, and at least one of the former members, Larry Timins (the man denied appointment to the Local Advisory Committee), made a point of arguing that the Local Advisory Committee did not represent the people in its decisions. Timins was arguing the principle of the matter and he was not without some influence as will be more clearly examined in Chapter VI.

At its inception, the Scheme faced a number of problems, of which the creation of citizen representation was one. Another occurred when the contractors moved to the site and discovered insufficient planning with respect to the people whose homes would be demolished. While the Final Report does not deal with relocation procedures, the planners did intend that some residents be "temporarily" relocated off the site until the project was completed. They were comprised of those whose homes were to be demolished as a result of being in the path of right-of-ways for new roads. The rest of the residents were to remain on the site throughout the construction period. At the end of the project, or at an appropriate time, those people who were displaced could return to the community to live in public housing. However, if they could afford to rebuild, they had the opportunity of buying a "minimum cost lot" for \$500 (this was a special option price granted to displaced people in the plan). The unsold lots would then be sold at market value to outsiders moving in. Arrangements for temporary relocation were supposedly made with the St. John's Housing Corporation. However, once the project began, it was found that such arrangements would be insufficient owing to the large number of people who would need accommodation.

An attempt was made to enlist the aid of the Department of Welfare. The results were not optimistic since this Department had trouble finding accommodations for its own clients. Because the Local Advisory Committee viewed the situation as serious (as the contractors had already begun), it called an emergency meeting to consider a proposition put to it by the Scheme's planners. Their proposition was for the displaced residents to

double up with other home owners. While this was only one of a number of possibilities being explored by the planners, the possibility of this alternative was so outrageous to the residents that Father Shea and Canon Babb, while at this meeting, decided to telephone the Premier of the Province. One official interpreted this development as the panic of the Local Advisory Committee:

At that point the Local Advisory Committee showed itself as a group that lacked co-operation and ability to work on behalf of the people.

The planners ultimately decided to purchase housing accommodations both within the boundaries of the Scheme and downtown. As of the spring of 1970, 13 families lived in homes purchased by the Scheme downtown, seven families lived in dwellings located within the project boundaries, and an additional five families lived in housing which was being rented by the Scheme (Batten, 1970:1-2). All of these families lived rent-free. When the work schedule of the Scheme permitted their return, each family would have six months to decide whether they wished to resume residence in the community. In the end, this solution to temporary relocation created problems, for it involved the use of funds to purchase housing not planned for in the program.

Two issues have been dwelt upon: the role of the citizens' group and the unforeseen difficulties concerning temporary relocation. Each of these situations became a basis determining attitudes of those involved in the urban renewal process.

In addition to the above, other early issues developed. These issues also contributed to the formation of attitudes which the planners

and active residents developed toward what role a local organization should play. Two further examples were recreation and the discussion of what would comprise the new business districts in the community. These two issues created uncertainty in the minds of the Local Improvement Committee since nothing officially had been planned. They began demanding definite answers on topics for which no definite answers existed. The degree to which they were critical of the program, then, appears to have varied with the extent to which they had "faith" (or lack of faith) that the planners were doing the best job that could be done because they were supposed to be "experts". From the start, the inability of the urban renewal organization to "baby" insecure residents contributed to a communications gap.

The purpose here is not to give a detailed criticism of town planning procedures, but a brief look at planning is perhaps in order. A current theme in urban renewal town planning lies under the various headings of "processes", "transition", or "flexibility". These represent ongoing processes and adjustments to be made in order to integrate the particular (individual needs as they arise) with the general (the overall plan) over a period of time. One of the pillars of the Blackhead Road project was its emphasis on flexibility to meet individual requirements. An example of this would be the attitude held by the planners toward what houses in the community should be demolished and which ones should remain when taking into consideration the minimum property standards. These plans have been rearranged formally at least three times since 1966 taking into consideration any recent home improvements. The

method of "flexibility" may also be seen, for example, in the lack of final decisions about the commercial area. Here was a subject which the Final Report lightly brushed over. It could be argued that arrangements in the Final Report as early as 1967 would be premature and that some assessment would be needed once the project was underway. Here, it can be argued, is an excellent opportunity for a resident group to take the initiative and submit a plan. However, before jumping to conclusions about the virtues of such a wide open opportunity, there are three considerations which must be dealt with: 1) the extent a resident group would view the making of plans someone else's responsibility, 2) how much faith the resident group has in the ability of the experts to guide them, and 3) to what extent does a resident group possess confidence in itself, based on how well educated or oriented they are, to carry out any assigned task.

The Director of Urban and Rural Planning felt that the project had been rushed into too fast and that this had contributed to unforeseen difficulties. Certainly a lack of resident preparation was a contributing influence. An indication of this lies in the lack of a detailed description in the Final Report outlining the extent to which the Local Advisory Committee could exercise an influence in the decisions of the project. While the Committee could refer to its copy of the Final Report to gain some idea about how it was to function, it did not know its terms of reference or the limits of its authority. Next, the responsibility each of the three committees comprising the project had to each other was not explicit. In practice, the flow of communication did not work out

the way it was planned in Flow Chart I (page 176) where it appears that a direct line of communication exists between the Local Advisory Committee and the Implementation Committee, by-passing Staff. Further, it should be noted that the Technical Advisory Committee shown in Flow Chart I was not set up until the spring of 1970, and when it was set up it did not meet the description as defined by the Final Report. Reference was made to include a sociologist on the Technical Advisory Committee, but a sociologist was never hired. From interviews with officials, the term "sociologist" seems to have been confused in their minds with "community developer". Further, the Final Report gave no definition of what a sociologist would do. These aspects were never completely understood by the Local Advisory Committee while it functioned. The basic problem of this Committee was that they mistook the recommendations in the Final Report for a blueprint of what had already been decided. From a planner's point of view, the problem was how to produce a scheme that would accomplish what the recommendations stipulated. The problem, then, for both the planners and the Local Advisory Committee was how to relate the Final Report to what was actually happening. Each viewed this from a different angle, and to each it took on a different significance.

Urban Renewal Organization

The Urban Renewal Organization was made up of the staff at the Urban Renewal Office and three committees. Within the committees, the plan called for representation from various interests from City and Provincial politics, the Metropolitan Area Board, the Federal Government, the local

branch of the planning firm, representatives from the government housing corporations, and representatives from the provincial planning division.¹ Above these various committees was the Minister of Municipal Affairs and the Metropolitan Area Board. In this way, the governing committees became an autonomous organization in charge of negotiating funds, spending money, hiring administrators for the project, and in overseeing the implementation of the work. The three committees were the Co-ordinating Committee, the Implementation Committee, and the Local Advisory Committee. The first two committees became the most involved in making major policy decisions.

The Co-ordinating Committee negotiated the funds of the project to be spent by the Implementation Committee. It acted as a liason between the Federal and Provincial Governments. It consisted of the Chairman of the Metropolitan Area Board, the Director of Urban and Rural Planning in the Department of Municipal Affairs and Supply, the Branch Manager of GMHC, the Chairman of the NLHC, and the St. John's City Clerk. No one on the Co-ordinating Committee sat on the Implementation Committee, as was called for in the Final Report.

The Implementation Committee was comprised of the following: the Co-ordinator of Special Services in the NLHC, the Assistant City Engineer for St. John's, the Principal Planner in the Department of Urban and Rural Planning, the Director of Field Services for the Department of Community and Social Development, the Project Engineer for Blackhead Road

¹See Flow Chart I in Chapter IV, page 176 and the specifications for its composition, page 175.

from Project Planning Associates, a member of the Metropolitan Area Board, the Urban Renewal Officer, and the Chief Development Control Officer in the Department of Urban and Rural Planning. The Chief Development Control Officer began attending meetings in mid fall of 1969.

Under these two committees was the Local Advisory Committee which was comprised of a member of the Metropolitan Area Board, the Roman Catholic Parish Priest, the Rector of St. Mary's Anglican Parish, and seven residents. For a short time the Assistant Urban Renewal Officer was also part of the Committee.

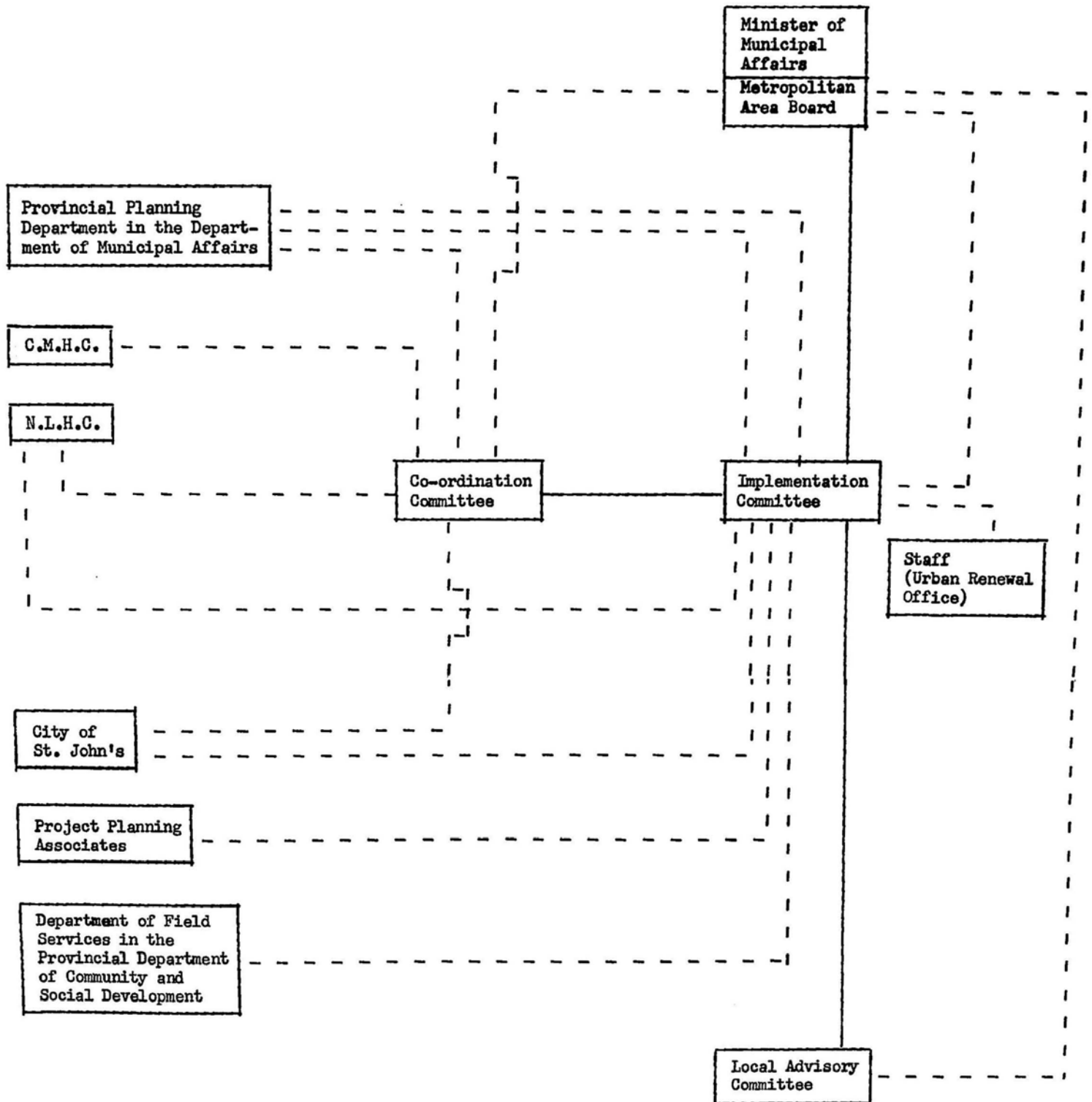
The Metropolitan Area Board was the only group to maintain representation at all three committee levels, and this involved three of its members. The Local Advisory Committee did not adhere strictly to the plan in the Final Report since the Urban Renewal Officer was not a member.

Initially, the Urban Renewal Office, labeled "Staff" on Flow Chart I, consisted of the following: the Urban Renewal Officer, the Assistant Urban Renewal Officer, a building inspector, a technical assistant, a bookkeeper, and two typists.

Given the above changes in the plan, Flow Chart II shows the interrelationship of all of the organizations involved as they were then supposed to work. From Flow Chart II, it can be seen that a complicated network of representation existed linking various related departments under the umbrella of the two top committees governing the Scheme. The two most frequently represented groups are the Department of Urban and Rural Planning in the Department of Municipal Affairs and Supply and the Metropolitan Area Board. The Church, which often acted as a spokesman

FLOW CHART II

The Relationship of the Urban Renewal Structure to the Various Organizations Which Comprised its Membership



Key:





- Solid Lines
Indicate the relationship of the various bodies comprising the urban renewal structure as formally planned (see Flow Chart I, page 176).
- - - Dotted Lines
Indicate the relationship of the various organizations contributing membership to the urban renewal structure. Each line represents one man.

for the people, was limited to the Local Advisory Committee with no formal links to the major decision making sources. The links between the Local Advisory Committee and the other committees was indirect through its Metropolitan Area Board representative. The Urban Renewal Officer bridged the formal link between the Staff and the Implementation Committee. The link between the Staff and the Local Advisory Committee, accomplished through the Assistant Urban Renewal Officer, is not shown in Flow Chart II because this link lasted only a short time. The Assistant Urban Renewal Officer's services had been lent to the Urban Renewal Staff by CMHC until the Scheme was fully underway and someone to be employed by the Scheme was found. He did not, therefore, constitute a formal link between the Staff and CMHC and was withdrawn from the project in August of 1969. At that time, he was replaced by an Office Manager, and any link the Assistant Urban Renewal Officer had held with the Local Advisory Committee was severed. In contrast to Flow Chart I, taken from the Final Report, then, the Local Advisory Committee was excluded from the main flow of formal administrative interests.

Even so, with the Local Advisory Committee envisioned as being directly below the Implementation Committee, it would appear that some entrance for the Local Advisory Committee into the main flow of dialogue existed. It had a formal link with the Metropolitan Area Board, and joint meetings could be held with the Implementation Committee. However, in the period of one and a half years only three such meetings took place. Thus, the Local Advisory Committee was on the fringe, and a one-way flow of communication developed. For example, the Implementation Committee was given

copies of the Local Advisory Committee minutes during the time they were kept, but the Local Advisory Committee was not allowed to attend meetings or receive minutes of the Implementation Committee. The situation was temporarily eased while the Assistant Renewal Officer sat in on Local Advisory Committee meetings since he had information readily available to answer questions. On top of this, the Local Advisory Committee was requested to deal with its problems through the Urban Renewal Office rather than with the Implementation Committee. The Local Advisory Committee continued to send formal questions and communications to the Implementation Committee, but it got few replies. Hence, the system continued to alter from the plans set forth in Flow Charts I and II. This had the effect of reducing the impact of the Local Advisory Committee's complaints to those made by individual people or ad hoc groups of residents who also had access to the Urban Renewal Office to voice complaints. Since everyone had access to the Urban Renewal Office, complaining to the Local Advisory Committee amounted to unnecessary red tape. As a consequence, the Staff was bombarded from a number of directions. In the interests of efficiency, the Staff did not refer many residents to the Local Advisory Committee but tried to deal with problems individually. While a few residents did come to the Local Advisory Committee with problems, the Committee found that it suffered from a lack of public relations throughout the community and was unable to deal with situations arising. A number of residents familiar with the Local Advisory Committee interpreted this inability as an attempt to side step its responsibility and as a way for its members to seek political favoritism. At the same time, the Local Advisory Committee felt that

the Implementation Committee held the answers to all of its questions and that it was being ignored. In practice, then, the flow of communication altered from the way it had been planned with the Local Advisory Committee not having any formal links with any of the other two committees. These transitions took place over a period of time, and it was a while before the Local Advisory Committee began to reason with the reality of its situation.

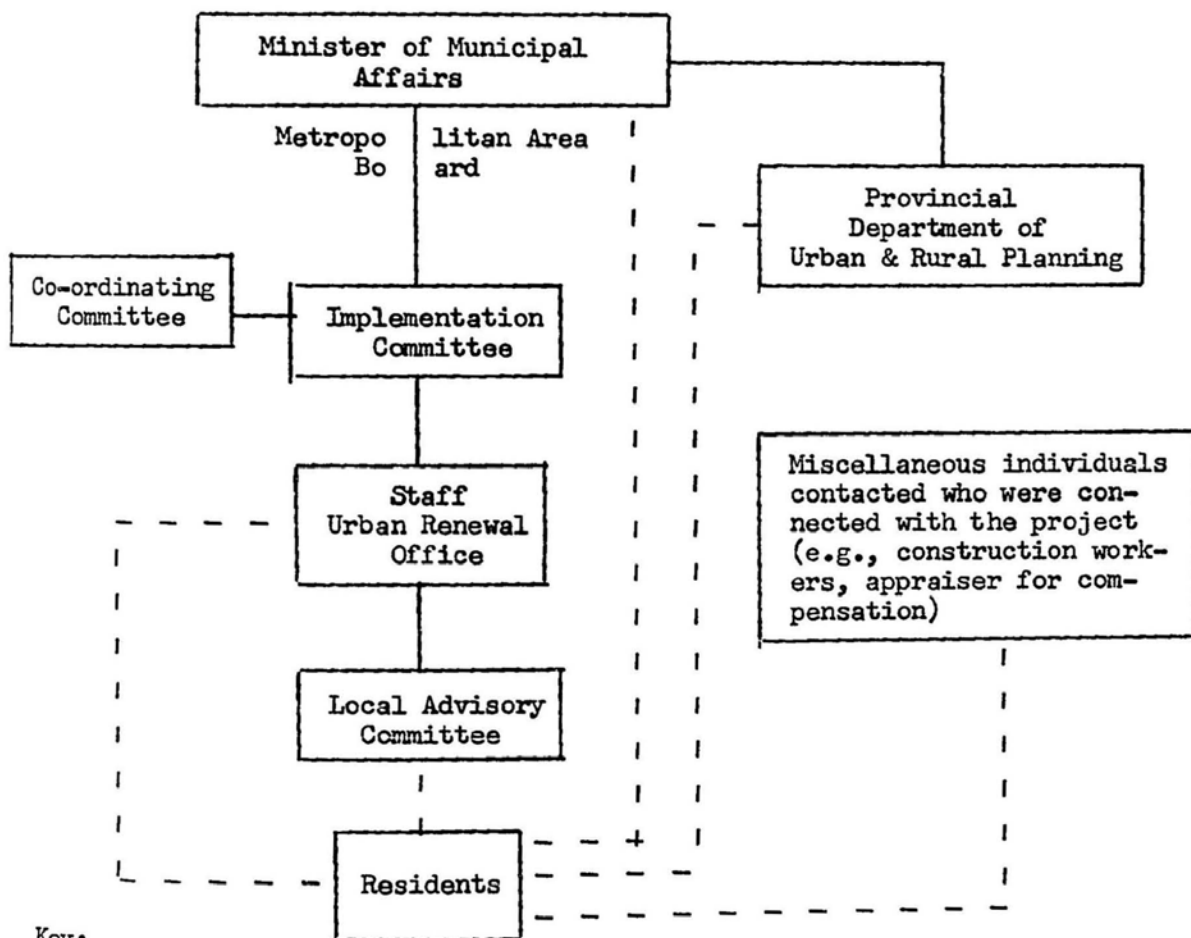
Flow Chart III depicts the channels of communication as they ultimately were supposed to work. Noteworthy is the way resident complaints reached out in a number of directions. Assuming all things as equal, the formal administrative pattern presented in Flow Chart III may be compared to Leavitt's "y" communication pattern. From this model, we can gain an idea of how the system should have worked even after alteration. Leavitt compared four systems of communication patterns: the circle () , the chain () , the "y" () , and the wheel () . Says Leavitt:

Patternwise, the picture formed by the results is of differences almost always in the order circle, chain, "y", wheel.

We may grossly characterize the kinds of differences that occur in this way: the circle, one extreme, is active, leaderless, unorganized, erratic, and yet is enjoyed by its members. The wheel at the other extreme, is less active, has a distinct leader, is well and stably organized, is less erratic, and yet is unsatisfying to most of its members (1958:558).

This may be quantitatively demonstrated by determining peripheral indices for each position and then by running a test to see how this

FLOW CHART III

Flow of Resident Complaints and the
Urban Renewal Structure²

²Information for the flow of resident complaints was compiled from the question, Have you ever gone to anyone in the Urban Renewal Office with any problems? In addition, talks with some officials were taken into consideration.

correlates to individual behavior.³ The peripheral index demonstrates the relative equality of each position insofar as each position is independent or dependent upon any other position for information. Thus, for the circle the result for each position is zero. This demonstrates the complete equality of each position in this pattern. However, these results differ for the positions in the other patterns. Taking the Black-head Road situation as an example, each body in the urban renewal framework represents one position in the "y" pattern. For each of these bodies, then, the relative peripheral index would be: 2.7 for both the Co-ordinating Committee and the office of the Minister of Municipal Affairs, zero for the Implementation Committee, 1.2 for the Staff, and 3.2 for the Local Advisory Committee.⁴ Assuming, then, that each body internally worked in harmony and that there was a free flow of communication between each body, the administrative organization should have been efficient. This is based on the relative proximity of the "y" pattern to the extreme of the wheel in Leavitt's conclusions quoted above. Hence, we would expect, under the best of conditions, that the Local Advisory Committee would be the most likely to experience the greatest amount of dissatisfaction. In addition, by virtue of this dissatisfaction

³See the Methods section, Appendix A, for the computation of peripheral indices. The quantitative measurement of correlation between individual behavior and peripheral indices is beyond the scope of this study. However, some generalities were observed which make the above discussion useful.

⁴The Implementation Committee's score of zero represents its centrality in the pattern. Its position is the most central relative to every other position.

tion, it appears likely that they would be most apt to create pressure to restructure the communications pattern to that of a circle. However, we would not expect a breakdown because of the type of communication pattern put forth.

Leavitt's conclusions were based on individuals within a communicative pattern, and hence were less complicated than the situation viewed here in urban renewal. With approximately 15 people on the three committees, the framework became cumbersome. In addition, there were more chances that one might not carry out his duties efficiently. This is particularly so since no one man was completely familiar with the total functioning of the organization. Moreover, since the system grew in bits and pieces and was not part of a formal plan, it became difficult to comprehend. The Committees became more isolated from each other, and as they did the system began to fall apart. The Local Advisory Committee, as shown in Flow Chart III, is a case in point. With resident complaints reaching out in all directions, any formal purpose the group may have had as a resident forum was undermined. Hence, the balance of responsibility shifted still further altering the "y" pattern until the Local Advisory Committee was operating in almost a complete vacuum. In the meantime, the informal links which the Local Advisory Committee had with the system through its participating representative from the Metropolitan Area Board, Roger Merrick, were, in some ways, becoming strained. Merrick complained more and more that he was unable to communicate with other members of the Metropolitan Area Board who could not comprehend any difficulties as his complaints were not substantiated through the formal chain of established

procedures. Hence, as members of the Local Advisory Committee in their peripheral position came to be further cut off from the flow of communication, they became even more dissatisfied and the situation became aggravated.

While the Local Advisory Committee was experiencing its difficulties, so were the other Committees and Staff. For example, the Urban Renewal Officer complained that the work load of the Implementation Committee was being passed on to the Staff. In addition, between July 1969 and the spring of 1970, the Urban Renewal Office saw a number of changes in personnel. One of the most important additions to the Staff was the hiring of an employee whose job was envisioned as that of a generalist community development worker. The advertisement for this position, which ran in March 1969, captures the spirit behind the hiring of such a worker. The advertisement read in part:

This is a challenging position resulting from a new approach to urban renewal involving citizen participation in the upgrading of homes and the general improvement of social conditions in the Urban Renewal area.

The successful applicant will be required to help local residents participate, to the fullest possible extent, in carrying out the objectives of the project and in planning for the long range local and economic development of the area.

Preference will be given to applicants who are graduates from a recognized university with a major in Social Science, Social Work, Adult Education or related field (The Evening Telegram, March 31, 1969:53).

The hiring of such a person accents the desire on the part of the planners not to restrict the urban renewal project to purely physical objectives. For this reason, it is important to take a look at how the social aspect of the program was organized and to view some of its consequences.

Though the Local Advisory Committee drew up the job description presented above, it had no say in who was hired nor were they ever officially informed that anyone had been hired when the position was filled. The urban renewal social worker, as the person who filled the position became known, appeared on the payroll as something of a surprise to the Local Advisory Committee. As was the case with most of the other employees in the Urban Renewal Office, the urban renewal social worker was hired by the Implementation Committee and became responsible to it and the Urban Renewal Office, rather than to any citizen's organization. The woman who was hired (in July 1969) was a graduate of Memorial University with a Bachelor's degree in education. She had had prior experience in adult education.

The basic problem, with the project now about a year old, was how to integrate this woman into what was already happening in urban renewal. This problem was never fully realized or overcome, and she was left pretty much on her own to perform a one-woman job without a great deal of orientation. Hence, the job shaped itself as the need for her to perform as a social worker arose.

In the beginning, she was invited to attend Implementation Committee meetings, but she chose not to as these meetings were often technical, and she had access to the Committee's minutes. While she was given the privilege of attending Local Advisory Committee meetings by her employers, she chose not to since the Committee never extended an invitation to her. Hence, an important communication link between the Urban Renewal Staff, the Implementation Committee, and the Local Advisory Committee was never realized.

From the start, the social worker felt that the Scheme was not being carried out properly. She was critical of all of the Committees, of her immediate superiors in the Urban Renewal Office, and, in some respects, of the churches. Her attempts at organizing within the community were several short-lived projects to form women's groups at St. Peters. Her job became primarily that of working with individual hardships and writing memoranda and reports to the Implementation Committee. Her criticisms in these reports paralleled those of the Local Advisory Committee although they were arrived at independently. By the time of her arrival, the services of a secretary to take minutes at the Local Advisory Committee meetings had been withdrawn. Thus, she had no formal means to keep track of the Local Advisory Committee's activities. In her reports, she pointed out, as did the Committee, that payment of compensation for expropriated property should be speeded up, that people were bewildered over the upheaval things were in during the course of construction, and she wrote of poor living standards and overcrowded conditions. In suggesting alternative courses of action, she did not consult with the Local Advisory Committee to which she remained a figure of mystery. Hence, she became open to suspicion as she became more and more identified by them as an employee of the urban renewal administration. "What is she doing?" or "What is she suppose to be doing?", were frequent questions the Local Advisory Committee members asked among themselves.

At the beginning of her job, the social worker also set about to correct the lack of information surrounding the project. Some residents complained to her, the Urban Renewal Office, and to individual members of

the Local Advisory Committee that they did not know the amount of compensation they would receive for their homes. Others complained that they did not know if their homes were to stay, be demolished, or moved. Some residents further complained that when inquiring at the Urban Renewal Office, they seldom received the same answer twice. Part of the reason for the appearance of a lack of a concrete decision on the part of the officials was due to the Scheme's policy of flexibility. Due to the lack of communication, to some residents the Scheme's "flexibility" looked more like "whim". The social worker set out to correct this and give each inquiry a frank reply. Instead of clearing up the situation, in a number of instances it became more confused. The social worker's information did not always coincide with what a resident had been told or thought he had been told by other members of the Staff. Some of her answers appeared to the residents to be unjust, and the Local Advisory Committee, therefore, received some complaints about this woman who could quote prices on homes to owners before they had received anything official. Hence, the social worker's sincerity became doubted. In the end, her job became that of assisting individuals with the everyday problems of being poor. She helped people evicted from their homes, helped them repair their homes, she looked after some of the sick, helped people secure groceries (sometimes using money out of her own pocket), and helped some find jobs or job training programs. She, thus, came to fulfill a social worker's role more than that of a generalist community development worker.

By the fall of 1969, the Urban Renewal Officer was openly criticized by some residents and members of the Local Advisory Committee as being

incompetent. Examples of these criticisms were his inability to give answers to problems, to rectify complaints immediately, and what some called his lack of "dynamic" behavior. At the same time, the burden of responsibility for acts by the Scheme fell on his shoulders because he was the most immediately accessible and most visible authority at hand. His most obvious shortcomings in dealing with the project, aside from personal conflicts over how dynamic he was, stemmed from two circumstances: a) he relied on the Final Report to provide answers, and this was not always a reliable source, and b) in some instances the information was unavailable as the particular situation had not been planned in detail. Examples of this rest with compensation which was expected but which had not been paid because land surveys had not been completed or because of the general flexibility of the Scheme. The concept of flexibility was a difficult one to teach and keep abreast without progress reports. This was accentuated by the fact that the residents as a whole had no say and were generally uninformed about the workings of urban renewal. Many lived in a state of uncertainty and rumors and suspicions grew. Under these circumstances, the Urban Renewal Office lost a good deal of credibility. This is particularly true from the view of the Local Advisory Committee and some involved residents. For a large number in the sample, however, the situation did not appear to be all that serious. Thus, while viewing one portion of residents bitterly complaining, it was also possible, if one was not exposed to it through formal channels, to get the impression that the project was operating with some continuity.

The Urban Renewal Officer was criticized from the top as well. Here, two criticisms stand out: a) he spent too much time with the Newfoundland Regiment in which he was an officer, at the expense of his job, and b) that he was not a "dynamic" enough person in dealing with other people (this criticism was noted by both the residents and his co-workers). He was defended by others who pointed out that the Urban Renewal Office was understaffed, that he was as good a man as could be found for the job, given the money the Province was willing to pay, and that he was at the mercy of a larger body of officials and not empowered to make the kinds of decisions the residents demanded. This sympathetic view toward the Urban Renewal Officer began to take a stronger foothold in the community months later when the Householder's Union was formed and the many difficulties encountered by the project were made public. In the meantime, however, much of the blame fell on him.

Around November, the Local Advisory Committee charged that resident complaints taken to the Urban Renewal Office were not being passed on to higher officials for answers. In late November, the Urban Renewal Officer took his annual vacation. The interpretation by some members of the Local Advisory Committee was that he had been fired. In his absence, the Chief Development Control Officer and the Principal Planner, both employees of the Department of Urban and Rural Planning and members of the Implementation Committee, were placed in the Urban Renewal Office. The Chief Development Control Officer became the acting Urban Renewal Officer, and the Principal Planner was assigned to compile a complete schedule of events. By December, a large amount of past correspondence and resident complaints

dating, in some cases, as far back as six months were located and sorted out.⁵ The conclusion by the Local Advisory Committee was that the Urban Renewal Officer had not done his job properly. At the same time, it also became clear that the Urban Renewal Office had become a bottleneck blocking the flow of information.

Like the Local Advisory Committee and the Urban Renewal Office, the Implementation Committee suffered difficulties. To begin, the Committee suffered from a cronic problem of non-attendance. Its representative from the NLHC, who was also the Chairman until the latter part of 1969, was absent from at least 17 meetings held between September 22, 1969 and March 2, 1970 without ever having been replaced as a member of the Committee. During this period, 20 official meetings were held and records were obtained for 17. On the basis of this, the representative from the NLHC was absent 100 per cent of the time, the representative of the Metropolitan Area Board was absent 64.7 per cent (11) of the time, while the Project Engineer from the planning firm supervising the construction work was absent 35.2 per cent (6) of the time. Of the remaining members, half (4) only missed one meeting for which they were responsible and one, the Urban Renewal Officer, missed two meetings. There were no meetings at which all the members were present, but there were three occasions when all the members were present without the NLHC representative. Like the Metropolitan Area Board, the Implementation Committee was a part-time organization made up of men with full-time jobs. The Project Engineer

⁵Information on the types of documents found stem principally from interviews with one official.

and the Urban Renewal Officer were the only members with any serious occupational commitments to the project. Noteworthy, too, is the fact that the Urban Renewal Officer was a regular voting member, while the Project Engineer was a non-voting member whose purpose was to offer advice to those involved in decision making.

It is evident from the minutes of the Implementation Committee and its final meeting with the Local Advisory Committee, that it was finding it difficult to stay on top of the situation. Disputes were arising with the contractors over the preparation of work sites before construction could commence. The contractors complained that people were not properly informed before the contractor moved in on their property and that the terms of expropriation were not properly understood by the people. Hence, the contractor would sometimes meet with resentment when a fence or clothesline had to be taken down or a garden dug up. These resentments were causing work stoppages or slowing progress. A few residents resorted to threatening workers. In one instance, the Assistant Urban Renewal Officer was threatened at gun point. Repeatedly, the Implementation Committee put the responsibility of clearing up this situation on the shoulders of the Urban Renewal Officer who claimed that the removal of obstructions was being dealt with through work orders. This is perhaps one of the clearest examples that the Urban Renewal Office was not properly staffed to deal with the home owners on a much needed personal level. Concerning the resistance from some residents, one company official said:

(The Company) feels victimized. We have gone to the Urban Renewal Office with a problem and it hasn't gotten back to the people.

In relation to all of this stood the Project Engineer whose job it was to supervise the work of the three main contractors and the testing and examination of all materials used. On October 7th, he wrote the Director of Urban and Rural Planning regarding matters which were increasingly upsetting one of the contractors. Among these items were obstacles in the right-of-ways, additional excavation charges, that certain road gravel be paid on a tonnage basis where the contract calls for it to be paid on a volume basis, and additional compensation for escalation of labor costs. On all the points the contractor was initially turned down. The contract did not allow the company to bring any complaints against the Province or the Scheme for any damage done to them through delays, for whatever the cause. In spite of this, the Project Engineer gave the opinion that with regard to obstacles:

I do not believe, however, that the owner (the Province) is free of obligation to the contractor because it can be suggested that the owner was not sufficiently diligent in his efforts to have rights-of-ways cleared in good time (Personal Correspondence, Project Engineer to Director of Urban and Rural Planning, October 7, 1969).

Shortly before Christmas, the project was shut down for the winter. At this time, the Implementation Committee began to seriously appraise its position within the Scheme. By March 1970, it was voicing discontentments, and it entered this feeling into its minutes which read:

The project engineer raised strong objection to the lack of improvement in the administration of the urban renewal scheme. He further stated that unless the administration, staff and forward planning is organized and in a high state of readiness by the start of the construction season he will have no alternative but to recommend closing down the civil works.

After a lengthy discussion it was proposed and approved that a letter be drafted to the Minister [of Municipal Affairs] outlining the problems of implementing the Scheme and requesting a meeting as soon as possible to discuss these problems along with the report that was submitted in early December. If a meeting is not possible the Committee felt strongly that they would have no alternative but to request the Minister to dissolve the Implementation Committee (Implementation Committee, March 2, 1970:2).

The organization of the Urban Renewal Office appears to have been only part of the problem. The Committee felt that it could not act on a number of issues because of the lack of information it received on exact plans and the availability of monetary resources to implement the stipulations of the Final Report. Those items on which the Implementation Committee found that it did not have all the answers it needed included water and sewage connections from the main lines to houses, public housing construction, compensation, street lighting, and fire protection. All of the above issues were left in the form of questions in the minutes of the Implementation Committee meeting of February 2, 1970 to which they expected answers from the Government and the Co-ordinating Committee. Finally on March 2, 1970, the last item of the minutes read:

There being no further business the meeting adjourned at 5:00 P.M. Because of the lack of information available regarding many aspects of the future of the Scheme at this time it was decided that no further meetings would be held until this is available. The next meeting will therefore be held at the call of the Chairman (Ibid.).

While the Committee was not immediately and officially dissolved, the Chairman never again called a meeting.

Less information is available concerning the difficulties of the Co-ordinating Committee, although they were reportedly worried about the

escalation of costs and were reportedly running into unforeseen difficulties with Federal policies in their negotiations for funds. CMHC refused to share the cost in a number of items that the Province wanted them to. It appears that the Provincial officials were not made aware of all the specifics concerning where they could expect Federal help, in addition to the fact that some costs were underestimated. The cost of moving homes, for example, was running above the original estimates, and one member of the Committee was worried that the Province would find itself \$250,000 in debt.

The Director of Urban and Rural Planning was responsible for committing money to the project on behalf of the Province. He also noted that immediate decisions had to be made concerning certain expenditures and that he ultimately held the responsibility for this. Further, he was responsible for negotiating with CMHC for the re-imbursement for these items. Here he complained of encountering office politics mainly centering about "accounting procedures". Many of the men involved, he felt, did not care about what was needed and what was not. He said:

They (C.M.H.C.) gave us so much money to go out and do a job and said (speaking figuratively), don't come back until its done. But in practice things don't really work that way.

He gave an analogy:

I have a shack and I need a padlock because some copper tubing will be stolen. I know it will be stolen that night and the padlock, say, costs \$2.50. They will actually debate whether the padlock is needed or not, who should pay for it, or if I should have to send in a requisition.

These events had a hampering effect on the efficiency of the Implementation

Committee since it lost some of its discretionary powers in spending. At the December 8, 1969 meeting of the Implementation Committee, a letter from the Director of Urban and Rural Planning stated that the Urban Renewal Officer would have to wait for all future items to be approved before he authorized any work to be carried out.

A new agreement was drawn up between the Province, the Metropolitan Area Board, and CMHC in the spring of 1970 which helped offset some of the unexpected costs of the project. However, by that time the feasibility of carrying out some of the items in the Final Report was in question.

The Residents in Urban Renewal

So far, we have seen that the project was running into financial and administrative difficulties which were largely the concern of those in power. Some of the more enlightened residents and the Local Advisory Committee speculated on the nature of the Scheme's difficulty. The members of the Local Advisory Committee, having been left to their suspicions and largely without facts, were beginning to lose faith in the whole project.

Most of the residents in the community were willing to put up with living on a construction site to gain all the benefits they assumed they would receive. For example, many expected to retain their original homes. Those whose homes were to be demolished expected to get a replacement or, as the phrase came to be known, "a home for a home". Those who did not have bathrooms expected to have them installed and to be provided with running water. Other expectations held widely included paved roads, street lighting, and upgrading of homes. Upgrading was interpreted as a new

foundation, additional clap board, a new window pane, or some addition that would bring a house up to standard. Others expected to be able to purchase a new building lot for the special price of \$500 and to be able to choose a lot anywhere in the Scheme. The residents believed that they would get much of this and that for the most part it would cost them little or nothing.

In order to help keep people informed about the project, a newsletter was begun in the fall of 1968 by the Urban Renewal Office. It was called "The Brow". By January of 1969, a member of the Local Advisory Committee, Tom Smyth, had taken over the editorship. After some discussion by the Local Advisory Committee, the name of the publication was changed to "The Hill". By and large, the articles in "The Hill" spoke favorably about the urban renewal project and tried to promote its objectives. Smyth's favorable attitude toward the project and his co-operation with the authorities made him the "favorite son" of the administrators. However, "The Hill" did not meet with a great deal of success. Distribution was one of its major obstacles. Occasionally, Smyth and his sons took it upon themselves to deliver "The Hill" door-to-door. On several occasions, it was distributed by the boy scouts and other copies were left lying around in the Urban Renewal Office or in stores. Yet, some residents did not receive it, many failed to pick it up, while others were illiterate. Contests were published regarding what name the people wished for their new community and quizzes relating to historical facts about the area were offered, but they met with little response.

With hopes high and with little response to "The Hill" or to the Local Advisory Committee, it was easy to gain the impression that most people did not care about the urban renewal project. This was not the case -- many people did care, but they were uninformed. Believing as they did that certain benefits were forthcoming, there appeared no reason to become especially alarmed. What is more, even with complaints of inconveniences, there is clear indication that many did not know the procedure under which they could voice their grievances in an organized fashion, and, as well, many were unfamiliar with the organizational framework of the urban renewal project in its entirety.

From Table 12, it may be concluded that a large majority of the people were uninformed about the structure of the urban renewal project. What they knew of urban renewal came from promises made at public meetings, from what they could understand from the mass media, from talking to neighbors, and the impressions they formed about the Urban Renewal Office. The main attempt to reach them by the planners through the newsletter generally failed, and the Local Advisory Committee sponsored no campaigns or surveys to reach out to the community. Hence, the people were also oblivious to the considerations which the Local Advisory Committee was trying to turn into debatable issues. The extent to which many residents became aware of or came to care about the issues facing them was a gradual process that had no real beginnings until the project was a year old.

Most people were caught up in their individual problems never fully realizing the collective scope of their situation. Any thought of organ-

TABLE 12.--The Number of Home Owners in the Sample who Knew and did not Know the Purposes of the Three Committees Governing the Scheme and the Two Housing Corporations Carrying Out Negotiations Over Their Interests

	<u>Local Advisory Committee</u>		<u>Implementation Committee</u>		<u>Co-ordinating Committee</u>		<u>Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation (CMHC)</u>		<u>Newfoundland and Labrador Housing Corporation (NLHC)</u>	
	<u>Percentage</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percentage</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percentage</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percentage</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percentage</u>	<u>Number</u>
Did not Know	55.5	30	79.9	43	72.2	39	62.9	34	79.6	43
Unsure	9.2	5	3.7	2	12.9	7	9.2	5	5.5	3
Did Know	<u>35.1</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>16.6</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>11.8</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>27.7</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>14.8</u>	<u>8</u>
Total	100%	54	100%	54	100%	54	100%	54	100%	54

izing to cope with the larger and more general principles surrounding the project engendered discouragement. Exaples are, "The people up here is stupid", or "That's been tried before without success". The feeling that it was every man for himself was not only expressed through such general comments presented above, but also through comments made by residents about their neighbors. An example was, "The people up here is out for what they can get" which was often followed with specific case examples. Next, the people were not convinced that collective action was needed or desirable. Individuals did not see the connection between the solving of their particular problem (or that problem which they personally saw as the worst one in the community as a whole) and an organization which might choose to take a stand on another issue.⁶ This attitude was clear at a number of public meetings where residents insisted upon openly airing individual grievances and were incapable of sticking to the general problems of urban renewal. When it was suggested that at another time these individual problems could be dealt with in private consultation with the Urban Renewal Officer, the suggestion was seen as a divide and conquer technique and as a play to avoid the gut issues. Moreover, among some residents there was expressed a lack of confidence in the Urban Renewal Officer's ability and authority to correct problems quickly. Hence, some meetings displayed disorganization with the topic of conversation moving from point to point with nothing decided. The problem lay with a combina-

⁶This situation was further agravated by certain jealousies which some residents had toward other residents. When one person got something, then others would want it too.

tion of things such as resident jealousies, suspicion of the urban renewal leaders, and a lack of ability to generalize and abstract. These were things that only a small well organized group, which could keep constant tabs on individual residents, could hope to help correct. As a result, individuals who felt threatened by the project often claimed that the only way to deal with urban renewal was to take matters into their own hands. For the most part, then, direct action to deal with the problems at a community level was taken by only a handful of residents on the Local Advisory Committee. Other groups did emerge from time to time, but they were few and short lived. These groups, most often comprised of women, formed mainly to protest over a specific grievance concerning the way the project was being handled. For example, a group of women successfully blockaded the project until enough oil had been spread over the dirt roads to keep the dust to a minimum.

In an attempt to see how the average resident of Blackhead Road viewed the urban renewal project and the circumstances under which they were living, a series of eight questions were asked beginning with, "Do you feel that the Blackhead Road was better off before urban renewal came?" Of the 54 home owners in the sample, 62.9 per cent said the community was not better off before, 31.4 per cent (17) said that the community was better off before, while 5.5 per cent (3) were unsure. This is comparable with the second question which asked if they would prefer that the project continue or stop. In the sample, 64.8 per cent (35) stated very positively that the project should continue, while 20.3 per cent wanted the project to stay, but added a qualifying stipulation.

A typical example is, "They should stay because if they left now it would leave a big mess." Seven (12.9 per cent) people clearly wanted the project to end immediately, while one person (1.8 per cent) did not care one way or the other.

In viewing why the residents voted one way or the other, there is more at stake than simply the manner in which the project was being carried out, since there are varying views on the subject as the preceding data indicates. Hence, such things as time, place, and social and physical boundaries of the residents should be considered. To begin, the residents had had no contact with urban renewal prior to the project they were living in. Thus, they would be apt to broadly define the process of urban renewal as it affected Blackhead Road rather than in terms of the complicated set of distinctions outlined in Chapter IV. Next, their reactions to this process were apt to stem from a number of influences such as the opinions of their friends, their goals in urban renewal, and their ability to symbolically restructure in their own minds what was happening to them. Here we must assume a naivete on the part of the residents about the more sophisticated issues involving the project such as the organizational problems faced by the planners. Moreover, it would be difficult for the residents to appreciate the project in terms of an experiment in rehabilitation urban renewal and to be satisfied with its success or failure relative to other projects. The planners, on the other hand, were not influenced by the same set of conditions. Thus, they could rationalize the success of the project in certain respects in opposition to criticisms made by the Local Advisory Committee.

To take full cognizance of the situation, comments by Dr. Robert Stebbins of Memorial University on the "definition of the situation" prove useful. 'The residents' decisions in the preceeding questions (and also succeeding ones) may be seen as arising out of first, a precondition stemming from a living standard lacking modern conveniences, feelings of being stigmatized, pride in home ownership, and an identity with an area. As a goal, urban renewal was not only a way to alleviate their hardships, but it was also a means to deal with stigma management and uplift the image of the community. Second, from their "subjective situation", they saw urban renewal affecting those things in their "objective situation" which had come to be of great importance.⁷ Their personal interpretation of the interrelationships existing between their predisposition and the elements of their subjective situation brought about their definition of the situation. Hence, it is important to note that the 62.9 per cent who felt the community was better off with the urban renewal project perceived that there would be improvement affecting those elements which comprised their subjective situation. Many of these specific elements were covered in Chapter III where we looked at what people picked as what they liked

⁷Stebbins defines the objective situation as:

....the immediate social and physical surroundings and the current psychological state of the actor.

He defines the subjective situation as:

....those components of the objective situation which are seen by the actor to affect any one of his action orientations and therefore must be given meaning before he can act (Stebbins, 1967:150).

best or least about their community. Other examples follow in this chapter as it is discussed what people saw as inconveniences and what they thought urban renewal would improve. An example of how these elements were seen and how they were interpreted as being affected would be the following: Many residents commented that the prospect of having running water installed in their homes (this was a promise of what urban renewal would bring) was either superior to having their own wells, or, at worst, a fair exchange. On the other hand, items not immediately perceived in their subjective situation, such as the effect of large numbers of newcomers to the area, never became a part of their definition of the situation and never became a topic of any importance at any meetings.

With this in mind, it is interesting to see how the difficulties of living on a construction site were viewed. Residents were asked, "What inconveniences have you and your family experienced as a result of the urban renewal project?" In spite of living on a construction site, 11.1 per cent (6) home owners said they suffered no inconveniences even though certain variables remained consistent for most in the area. The use of roads by heavy equipment, the noise of drills, and large ditches being dug to lay pipe were things which everyone in the area experienced at some time. Of the 54 home owners, 11.1 per cent (6) said that they had suffered inconveniences but qualified their statements. A typical example is, "But then that was to be expected anyway", or "We don't mind." In addition, two people (3.7 per cent) noted that they had suffered inconveniences in relation to their property but that the Urban Renewal Office had corrected the difficulties. The large majority, 74.0 per cent (40), made it

clear to the interviewers that they had suffered inconveniences about which they were annoyed. However, some of them did not lodge a formal grievance.

A total of 48 respondents complained of inconveniences. When the complaints are broken down, they cover 21 different items.⁸ The largest groupings of complaints covered subjects which affected the whole community or were clouded in vague and general statements. The item mentioned most (18 times) was the general conditions of the roads (which were felt to be very poor). Eleven complaints were lodged against the way things were generally torn up, with the same number complaining about damage to homes (accidentally done, such as leaky roof or damaged chimney) due to blasting rock in the area. Nine complaints concerned the loss of a well, and nine were also lodged against adequate access to homes. Access to homes, for example, was especially difficult during the construction when large ditches were dug blocking many entrances. Next, there were three complaints about each of the following: dirty surface drainage water, water from the water truck, the blasting of rock by the construction companies in general, and abuse or no reaction from the Urban Renewal Office. The remaining 12 items of dissatisfaction included a lack of information on the project, noise, flooding of homes, operating heavy equipment too close to houses, procedures in moving families, lack of a driveway, and wrecked gardens and fences. Given the great number of people with complaints (total was 48 or 88.8 per cent), compared with the number who wanted the project to

⁸Some people complained about only one item, while others complained about a multiple number of items.

continue (total was 46 or 85.1 per cent), some idea of the residents' determination can be seen. Almost as many wanted the project to stay and continue as had complained about inconveniences.

The question of inconveniences was reviewed in still another question but with a different emphasis. Respondents were asked, "If you were in charge of the urban renewal project would you do things the same way or differently?, please explain." Of the 54 home owners in the sample, 20.3 per cent (11) said they would do things the same way. While a number of these respondents had lodged complaints, they took one of two views on acceptance of the situation. The first may be described as sympathy for the urban renewal leaders whom they felt had their hands full coping with problems they envisioned any urban renewal project might encounter. The second may be expressed as the respondent's belief that the experts could do and were doing the best possible job because they were experts. Five respondents said they did not know if they would do things in the same way, one did not answer, while 68.5 per cent (37) said they would do it differently.

The 37 who said they would do things differently showed some diversity. However, by employing broad topic headings, 23 different topics were classified. Seven suggestions were made over the work sequence. For example, one man said that he would have done the project in sections by geographical area, completing each section entirely before moving on to the next. The next most popular topic (with six respondents) concerned moving people downtown. All six said that they would not have done this, but their reasons varied. For example, two people commented on the

hardships of friends being separated, and another two suggested that extra housing should have been provided in the community before any homes were torn down. Five comments concerned better dispersement of information throughout the community, four suggestions were concerned with the condition of the roads, four people felt that the project was being carried out too fast, and three felt that it was being carried out too slow. The remaining topics included giving the people more power, better blasting procedures, the excessive cost in moving houses, the lack of local job training for the skilled construction work being done in the area, giving people back the land that was taken from them, the need for more cutbacks in hiring labor, what to do with "the river", the need for more safety precautions, compensation, and the tearing down of houses.

The difference between the question dealing with inconveniences and the above is that in the former question the respondents were asked to think of themselves, while in the latter question they were asked to think about the general problems in urban renewal and to talk abstractly about the situation. What is interesting is that those things which they considered to be inconveniences are not necessarily those things which they would do differently. This suggests that the residents were less annoyed at the urban renewal leaders and their handling of the situation than they were annoyed at what they perceived as universal problems in their conception of urban renewal. Hence, a man annoyed about the conditions of the roads would not be inclined to list this as anything he would change if he could not visualize the situation as changeable. Here he would be apt to accept the inevitability of the situation in spite of his annoyance.

So far, two points of view have been looked at. These are the viewpoints of the residents in the sample and the planners. To summarize, for the residents, the definition of urban renewal lay squarely with this urban renewal project and their experience with it. The administrators, however, were apt to contrast the project both in practical terms (e.g., how well the work schedule was being carried out), and in conceptual terms (e.g., rehabilitation vs. demolition-relocation) with past urban renewal projects. At the same time, the more active residents in the community, such as those on the Local Advisory Committee, offered a third conception. This arose as they became more familiar with the difficulties the project was encountering and as they attempted to take an in-depth look at certain issues. With more information, they were apt to be more critical. Being placed in this position, the idea of phase one and phase two was invented as a way to rationalize the sequence of the work they saw being accomplished in contradiction to the over-all work schedule they had before them in the Final Report. Roger Merrick's conception, which referred to phase two as "the renewal" part of the program, is particularly indicative of this. Phase one became viewed as the installation of main water and sewage pipes and paved roads, while phase two was to include hook-ups to the main pipe lines, upgrading of homes, and all those benefits to individuals that everyone had been promised and were waiting for. Installation of public works, then, was not "renewal" as such. It was necessary before "renewal" could take place.

While many of their suggestions for what they "would do differently" covered topic areas which did not appear as "inconveniences", other topic

areas did appear on both lists. Here, there are some notable differences in priority. To begin, fewer people were in agreement over what they would do differently than were in agreement over what constituted inconveniences. There were six major topic areas of agreement over what they would do differently and nine major topic areas concerning what were inconveniences. In comparing the two lists, the topic of "roads" was the greatest concern under inconveniences but was second from the bottom under what they would do differently. A second example is "blasting" procedures by the construction companies. Blasting was a major concern for many under inconveniences but became an area of what they would do differently for only a few. Lack of adequate information went from a minor area of concern under inconveniences to third place in importance under what people would do differently. These results further indicate that physical inconveniences, while annoying and uncomfortable, were viewed as inevitable, while improving communication, keeping people in the community, and other human aspects were generally seen as possible methods of greater efficiency.

To assess the efficiency or inefficiency of communication throughout the community, the residents were asked two questions. The first question was, "Have you ever gone to any of the staff in the Urban Renewal Office with any problems? If so, please rate your satisfaction with the employee contacted (e.g., most helpful, not so helpful, didn't care, or did more harm than good)." With regard to the first question, 42.5 per cent (23) felt that their questions had been answered satisfactorily, 33.3 per cent (18) felt they had received unsatisfactory answers, while

24.0 (13) said they did not ask any. The second question pointed to a discrepancy. A number of people had thought they had spoken to a representative of the Urban Renewal Office when, in fact, they had not. These people mentioned that they had spoken to a worker or executive in a construction company or to some official at the Confederation Building. Only 26 people in the sample had actually spoken to an employee of the Urban Renewal Office.⁹ Considering the total of 26 people (48.1 per cent) with different problems, slightly more than half (13) eventually found someone who was most helpful. The next largest group (10) found the Urban Renewal Office not so helpful, one found that the Staff did not care, one felt that they did more harm than good, and one person gave no rating.¹⁰

Since a few respondents brought their problem to more than one employee, the number of times that members of the Staff were rated exceeds the actual number who complained. The most frequently contacted was the Urban Renewal Officer who handled 13 complaints. In four of these cases, he was considered most helpful, in seven cases not so helpful, and in the remaining two cases he was given a lower ranking. The next most contacted individual was the Works Supervisor who handled seven problems. In three of these cases he was considered most helpful, in another three cases not so helpful, and in one instance he received a lower ranking. In the

⁹The question refers only to home owner's in the sample and not to other members in the family whom the social worker may have dealt with.

¹⁰Five other people could not remember who they spoke to in the Urban Renewal Office.

sample, these were the only two employees who were frequently involved in dealing with people's problems. The remaining personnel only dealt with one or two individuals. Generally, they were rated high with the largest number of people feeling they were most helpful, followed by not so helpful, while only one person rated them below this.

The above figures are useful in determining how satisfied those people were who knew that they were dealing with the Urban Renewal Office. However, they cannot be said to represent the whole sample. We have already seen that some people thought they were contacting the Urban Renewal Office when, in fact, they had contacted another organizational wing of the project administration. Nor can it be determined if some of those people who claimed they never asked the Urban Renewal Office any questions were aware of what personnel comprised the Urban Renewal Office and if inadvertently they had addressed questions to the Staff. What these questions point to is the lack of knowledge on the part of the residents of the administrative organization and who in it was responsible for what aspects of it. Moreover, they give a clear indication of the way all of those involved, from the construction companies to the Minister of Municipal Affairs, blended together in the minds of the residents under the over-all heading of urban renewal.

The next question the respondents were asked was, "What do you feel will be accomplished by the urban renewal project?" Of the 54 home owners, 79.6 per cent (43) commented favorably, 9.2 per cent (5) could not see any improvements, four (7.4 per cent) did not know, and one (1.8 per cent) respondent did not address his comments to the community. He saw the

Government making a huge profit. Most of the 43 respondents who commented favorably addressed their opinions to more than one topic. Using broad headings, 16 topics were categorized. These areas parallel those which were seen as inconveniences. Further, many of the comments made were general and vague. The five most important ones were: 1) the improved condition of the roads, with 22 respondents addressing themselves to the problem, 2) the installation of water and sewage, with 20 replies, 3) fourteen spoke of the way the community would become an easier place to live, 4) eleven spoke in general about improved facilities, and 5) eight spoke of a provision for better housing. This would include such things as installation of new bathrooms, general up-grading, and the freedom to make additions to one's house without the Metropolitan Area Board's restrictions. (This last item is an example of rationalization. There is nothing to indicate in the project that this would occur.) The remaining topic areas captured the imagination of from one to five people each and demonstrated not only that these areas were of some importance to the people who mentioned them but in a couple of instances uncovered incorrect expectations over what had been planned. Examples of these other areas of concern include: better schools, more employment, the elimination of the dust problem, less fire hazard in the community, and increased morale among the residents. Out of all the respondents who answered favorably, only three expressed any reservations. These were concerns over the possibility of increased taxation or a general increase in living expenses. The five respondents who saw no improvement in the community because of urban renewal also feared increased taxation. A couple did not believe their personal living standard would be increased.

These, then, are the things the people expected would happen as a result of urban renewal. They were things well ingrained in the minds of the people as the next question illustrates. The respondents were asked, "Is there anything which the urban renewal project has done which pleases you?" Most of the answers were directed at the most obvious and visible aspects of the construction which were the roads and the installation of main water and sewage pipes. The majority of the respondents, 64.8 per cent (35) had something pleasing to say. Twenty-five spoke about the roads, five spoke of water and sewage, four said "everything" pleased them, two vaguely mentioned that the project was helping them get better facilities, and four mentioned personal experiences. These would include receiving compensation or having a building plan approved.

The question was phrased to refer to acts which had already been committed by the urban renewal program and not to the way they perceived the eventual outcome of the project. Nevertheless, many respondents had difficulty in answering the question. For example, nineteen of those who spoke of roads, the total of five people who spoke of water and sewage, and the total of two who spoke of better facilities addressed their comments to the end product of urban renewal. In addition, when looking at the sample as a whole, for the 35 people who spoke affirmatively, the list of priorities regarding what pleased them remained consistent with the list of priorities over what they thought would be accomplished. Whether they addressed themselves to past events or the future outcome, in both sets of questions the condition of the roads was spoken about by the greatest number of people, followed by water and sewage, with the

third largest number speaking about general improvements in facilities. As a group, those who did not speak affirmatively were better able to answer the question. For example, seven (12.9 per cent) people waived. They said that nothing in particular had pleased them up to date, but in the long run they expected improvements which would please them. Of the 22.2 per cent (12) who said that nothing pleased them, only three elaborated. Their comments were concerned with what had happened to them up to the time of the interview. The question which asked the residents if urban renewal had done anything to please them did not adequately measure what it set out to do since different interpretations came into play. Yet, from this question, we can gain some important insight to the definition of the situation.

In a very general way, we may summarize the details in this section. It is apparent that the major concerns of the people over what affected them personally is not a concern which centered only on their private property or personal relationships to the administration. Important, too, was a concern for the general state of affairs in the whole community. These were areas which the people felt confident would be dealt with in the end. In question after question, the same items were mentioned giving clear indication of the subjective situation. While at public meetings personal hardships were often dwelt on, they did not constitute issues serious enough that the whole community would organize around them. Hence, the important issue was the end product and how this related to their subjective situation. This can be contrasted to the view outsiders held of the urban renewal process. The most striking thing to the out-

siders who took an active part in resident affairs was the upheaval the whole place was in because of the construction. It was the most obvious and most disturbing aspect.

To those who became active, however, pressure was applied to become concerned with other issues such as compensation, housing, and getting hook-ups to the main water and sewage pipes. While individual hardships were noted carefully, comparatively they took a back seat. It may be said, then, that in the definition of the situation for the residents, living on a construction site was tough, but it was worth it in order to obtain what they saw as being the end result.

Summary and Conclusions

It can be seen that in Blackhead Road various degrees of trust and mistrust existed between the citizens and the urban renewal administration. Among the most critical residents were those active on Committees and who made it their business to scrutinize the project and ask questions. The fact that slightly fewer than half received little satisfaction from the Urban Renewal Office and that so many complained of inconveniences, coupled with the realization that people wanted the project to continue is proof of resident determination. When resident determination is contrasted with the problems in organization faced by the Scheme's administrators, it may be said that the people were optimistic at a time when many of the officials were becoming more discouraged. While lack of communication was not a major complaint among the residents at large, it

did become a major preoccupation of the Local Advisory Committee representing the people.

There is indication that there were more problems facing the people in Blackhead Road than was brought to the attention of officials higher up than the Urban Renewal Office. This constituted a major criticism of the Urban Renewal Officer who was described by the Local Advisory Committee as incompetent. While the forwarding of complaints is an administrative decision that must be weighed with the necessity of carrying out a whole range of duties, it is doubtful that even had these complaints been forwarded to the Implementation Committee much more would have been done. All along, the general hardships of living on a construction site had been forwarded to the Implementation Committee by the urban renewal social worker. Furthermore, the Implementation Committee was becoming hopelessly bogged down in problems of its own. Throughout all of this, the Metropolitan Area Board, which was charged with the responsibility of local government for the area, played an almost nonexistent role. The exception to this was the interest taken by one of its members, Roger Merrick.

It appears that there were primarily three problems with the urban renewal project in December 1969 when the interviews were done, and these were to constitute problems in the future. The first was how to reconcile resident expectations with what was carried out. The second one was the lack of any one man, or group of men, completely familiar with how the Scheme was functioning. The third was how to carry out smoothly the stipulations in the Final Report. The seriousness of each of these problems was dependent upon one's relative position in the urban renewal structure and his definition of the situation.

CHAPTER VI
PARTICIPATION BY CITIZENS AND THEIR MAIN CONCERNS
IN THE URBAN RENEWAL PROJECT

The Local Advisory Committee

The Local Advisory Committee was founded by the urban renewal leaders in the fall of 1968 and held its first official meeting on November 6 of that year. Between this date and March 21, 1969, official records were kept by a secretary who was lent to the Committee. During this time, there were 16 official meetings, two of which were joint meetings with members from the Implementation Committee.

In keeping with the plans set forth in the Final Report, a member of the Metropolitan Area Board, Roger Merrick, was appointed to the Local Advisory Committee. In addition, the Assistant Urban Renewal Officer was temporarily appointed as co-ordinator between the Committee and the Staff. Father Shea and Canon Babb were asked to appoint two members each from their flocks. Father Shea chose a man and a woman, and Canon Babb chose two women. The one male resident who sat on the Committee was employed as a heavy equipment mechanic for the Department of Highways. The husbands of the three women chosen were a truck driver, a carpenter, and a retired stevedore.

At the first meeting of the Local Advisory Committee, its members were asked to recommend for appointment an individual to serve on a board

of arbitration. On November 24th, a public meeting was held to consider the matter. Chosen was Roger Merrick's father who had successfully fought for adequate housing for railway employees many years previously. The meeting, however, deviated from its original purpose and became important for another reason. Opposition to the method of appointment to recruit members for the Local Advisory Committee was voiced. A number of residents present felt that recruitment should have been through election. The fact that the issue was elections versus appointments rather than proportional religious representation is worth mentioning. The subject of religious solidarity in the community was not covered by the Interim Report of 1965. This report was supposed to serve as the sociological blueprint for the area and it only covered percentages by religious groupings. Noteworthy, then, is that the planners in using religious denominations as a method for providing fair representation did not appoint any members from the United Church. This group provides the third largest religious grouping in the community. The lack of an issue here appears to have been a matter of luck since there is no record upon which a careful decision to exclude members of the United Church could have been based.

The appointed members, facing objections over the manner in which they were placed on the Local Advisory Committee, invited elections from the floor. Three Roman Catholic males were elected. A fourth man, Larry Timmins, who had been particularly vocal on this point was also invited to serve. Even though at an earlier time he had asked Father Shea if he could join, at this time he declined the invitation. He argued that even

an election would not be representative of the people. Since the meeting had been called to decide another issue, many residents who might have been interested in electing candidates were not in attendance. Indeed, only a small number of residents had bothered to come to the meeting. The three who did accept an elected post included a manager of the furniture department in a large downtown store, an advertising salesman for the Yellow Pages in the phone book, and a floor manager of a shipping department for a large downtown store. Thus, the Committee was made up of among the most affluent in the community.

From looking at the minutes of the meetings of the Local Advisory Committee over the period for which they are available, morale appears to have been good. They began ambitiously by offering constructive suggestions, and they began by looking into resident problems which were brought to their attention.

Among their early attempts to become active were the following:

1. In December of 1968, the Committee requested that the principal of St. John Bosco School and the District Superintendent of the Anglican School Board be made members of the group. The Committee's recommendations for appointments were turned down. The planners, expressing themselves through the Department of Urban and Rural Planning, explained that the Committee was to be made up primarily of residents and that no new outside members could be added. They, however, expressed no objection to anyone attending meetings in an advisory capacity. In principle, this meant that the two men recommended could not act in an official capacity as members of the Local Advisory Committee.

2. In the beginning, the Committee acknowledged that there may be a need for some public housing in the area; however, they set out to explore alternatives. They formed a subcommittee to prepare a housing brief which was ready by February, 1969 (see Appendix B). Next, they tried to solicit comments and criticism on their brief from the Implementation Committee, the NLHC, and the Federal Minister of Transport who was responsible for housing policies.¹
3. They explored the possibility of constructing a bus shelter for school children made from the remains of a demolished house.
4. They dealt with complaints brought to them by residents who were not happy about the hiring practices of the construction companies. It had been promised in the beginning of the project that job preference would be given to local residents in need of work. By and large, the Committee felt that the construction companies were operating fairly, and it attempted to clarify any misunderstanding to the complaining residents.
5. They attempted to deal with the issue of vandalism, particularly the issue over the removal or destruction of survey markers which appeared to be one of the most serious problems at the time. Here, they relied on pleas in the urban renewal newsletter.
6. They tried to deal with the issue of community clean-up (the clearing of old wrecked cars and garbage dumping) through the urban renewal

¹There is doubt as to whether the Housing Brief actually ever reached the Minister.

newsletter and by bringing new developments to the attention of the officials.

7. They tried to establish communication lines with the Manpower Department through Roger Merrick's father. Here, they wanted job training programs to enable residents to obtain skilled jobs with the construction companies. This effort was not successful in that Manpower could not make any special arrangements for the area.
8. They tried to establish better lines of communication with the Implementation and Co-ordinating Committees by requesting the minutes of their meetings. They were turned down on the basis that these Committees discussed confidential individual problems which should be kept from other residents out of a respect for privacy.
9. The Kinsman Club contacted them about the possibility of financing a recreational community center which would include a running track and swimming pool. While this offer sounded attractive, Father Shea was entertaining another deal behind closed doors and without the knowledge of the residents. His coolness toward the plan led to the discouragement of at least one member of the Local Advisory Committee who dropped out. He privately blamed Father Shea for displaying unreasonable laxity and began to feel a deep sense of futility toward the Committee.
10. They tried to bring to the attention of the officials the problems of people living on a construction site.
11. They became concerned about the future of St. John Bosco School which was to receive no additional land for expansion in spite of the

expected influx of new residents. For the most part, however, this remained Father Shea's battle.

12. They became interested in Memorial University's Extension Service which they hoped would set up educational workshops for the people. The fear on the part of some that the Extension Service could cause trouble led to a complicated set of circumstances, and this attempt was unsuccessful.
13. They sought information on co-operative housing but were unable to carry through with the complicated arrangements surrounding this.
14. They tried unsuccessfully to get a doctor to attend to the area. With the coming of M.C.P., the Committee felt that this could be done at no financial loss to a doctor. However, the Medical Association pointed out that, with the anticipated increase in case loads, the Committee's proposal was unsound. By 1969, however, Father Shea was able to recruit a doctor, and by the fall of 1970 a new Medical Clinic had opened in the area.
15. In addition, they sought information on plans for the new commercial districts for which no specific plans had been laid, they concerned themselves with the issue of compensation, and generally tried to enter into policy decisions.

The above list is not a complete one of all of the activities of the Local Advisory Committee. However, it does cover those items of the greatest importance. From it, it can be seen that the Committee was extremely active and interested in a variety of areas. Further, it points out in practice how the Committee came to see its own role. Specifically,

they felt that they should have a vote in policy, and they began more and more to deal with broad community problems and not just with urban renewal. The above list shows the kinds of things they hoped to initiate in their community, but their degree of activity should not be taken as a measure of success. Many of their ventures led them down blind alleys and dead ends. Hence, a sense of frustration began to develop and, as this developed, the issues of prime importance narrowed from the broad list presented above. Moreover, as the issues became fewer, the arguments became even more rigid. Following, then, is a look in detail at a few items which eventually preoccupied the Committee and the frustrations over those issues which led directly to its demise.

Housing and Upgrading

Housing was one of the issues considered and was regarded as having great importance. The basic issues at hand were the upgrading of existing housing stock and public housing versus private home ownership.²

In Chapter V, the resulting confusion over the interpretation of the Final Report as a concrete blueprint versus a set of proposals was explained. Because the Local Advisory Committee misunderstood the Final Report to be a blueprint, many specific questions occurred to them about how the promised proposals in the report would be actually carried out.

²While the figures relating to house moves, demolitions, and public housing units have changed since the Final Report was issued, written records of these changes are unavailable. Since the Final Report is a handy reference for the original figures and they serve equally well to illustrate the issues without becoming unnecessarily complicated, the original figures stated in the 1967 Final Report will be used here.

Hence, as early as its eighth meeting held in February 1969, the Local Advisory Committee asked:

Members of the Committee are anxious to know how much it would cost to hook-up to the water and sewer services and if there was any assistance available under the Scheme.

The Assistant Urban Renewal Officer stated that the Scheme provides that in order to encourage immediate hook-ups the Provincial Government would possibly pay for half the cost if the work was completed within the first year. As for the amount no definite answer could be given on this as certainly each house will be different.

The members also wished to know about the houses which have to be brought up to standard and the owner cannot afford to do such repairs. To what extent is the government prepared, according to the Scheme, to help up-grade homes and in particular with regard to bathroom units?³ (Minutes to Local Advisory Committee, February 20, 1969:4).

The reply to these questions came in the form of a letter from the Urban Renewal Officer to the Assistant Urban Renewal Officer. It stated:

The Provincial Government has agreed to pay the cost of putting in a bathroom, containing a bath (or shower), toilet, and wash-basin. House service connections are provided for in the Scheme.

Some of the existing houses that are to remain are built on wood posts. The Provincial Government will assist in replacing these wood post foundations with concrete or masonry posts. Should a resident want to have concrete walls instead of posts to make a concrete basement, then this additional cost will have to be borne by the owner.

It is realized that it will take time for families with very limited resources to bring their property up to Minimum Property Standards. There are a number of ways by which owners can obtain assistance in financing improvements and a quite reasonable period of time will

³Emphasis mine.

be allowed to comply with Minimum Property Standards (No date).

The reply by the Urban Renewal Officer does not answer the questions asked. To point out only one example, the Local Advisory Committee asked, what would happen if a man could not afford to bring his house up to standard and asked what assistance under the Scheme the Government was prepared to provide? The reply was that there are "a number of ways". Still there was no reference to "how" or "what". Ironically, the Local Advisory Committee was re-referred to the Final Report which raised all of the questions in the first place.

In actual fact, no solid plans had been laid for carrying out any of the above since it would be a while under the planners' "scheme of flexibility" before the actual needs of the residents could be determined. In addition, it would be a while before all of the negotiations and tenders for the project had been formulated. It was the incorrect assumption by some residents and members of the Local Advisory Committee, for example, that Lundrigans had been awarded the contract to make house connections while they had the streets open to lay the main water and sewage pipes. Their assumption was based on, what seemed to them, common sense. As they saw it, if hook-ups were not made while the main trenches were open and before the main pipes were laid, this would mean that sections of the trenches would have to be reopened and that some extremely precise (perhaps impossible) blasting of rock would have to be done from the main trench up to a house. Hence, when they did not see hook-ups being made right away, they feared that they would never get them. This

was countered by the Scheme's authorities who tried to assure the residents that their fears had no basis in fact and who urged them to be patient. Similarly, other areas of question developed. For example, the work schedule published in the Final Report did not coincide with what was happening. As an illustration, house connections were to begin as early as September 1968, only a month after work on the main trenches had begun, and continue intermittently throughout 1969. This never occurred. The Local Advisory Committee was issued this work schedule and yet was never formally told of any changes in it. Hence, they felt they were being side-stepped, and the subject of upgrading was never brought to a satisfactory conclusion.

The issue of public housing versus private home ownership was conducted with more commitment than was the subject of upgrading. These arguments, about which the Local Advisory Committee was unanimous and which they took very seriously, will be summarized.

It was felt by the Local Advisory Committee that private home ownership, however poor it may have been, was the backbone of morale in the community and major pillar for a source of independence from the state.⁴ Living in their own homes, the people were not a tax burden. They further felt that the moving of previous home owners into public housing with the introduction of rent to income subsidies would be a blow to their pride and act negatively against any incentives to better them-

⁴There is considerable evidence from informal conversations with many residents in the community that they shared this view with the Local Advisory Committee.

selves. For one thing, paying out part of their wages for rent, even if it was subsidized, seemed to suggest an endless procedure for which there would be nothing to show. Given that the people lived on marginal incomes and had little prospect of rising above this, it was asked, what was the incentive for, say, a laborer to work overtime to support his family if all this laborer could foresee was the fruits of this extra labor being eaten up in rent? Therefore, the Local Advisory Committee spent much time to prepare a creative alternative to public housing. This took the form of a housing brief which specified a form of subsidized home ownership (see Appendix B).

A case for subsidized home ownership for all of the nation's poor was never spelled out in the Committee's report. Rather, the Committee built its case around a particular circumstance. It felt that subsidized home ownership should be made available to people who were private home owners when their homes were taken by an act of expropriation. This is in contrast to, say, giving subsidized home ownership to people who are renters. There is a decided difference between the slum dweller in the central core of a city who rents, and a home owner. The renter has everything to gain and little to lose in terms of property and modern conveniences. His position always remains the same, that of renter. Subsidized rents can only lighten a burden he is already under. With the home owner moving into subsidized public housing, his position does change. He becomes a renter. In spite of subsidized rent to lighten his financial burden, the very act of paying out any rent at all can often represent an increase in expenditures and the addition of a burden that

was not there before. When an indigenous man is removed from his home by expropriation and public housing is held up as the only shelter he can then practically afford, he is, in effect, being coerced into purchasing a commodity he may not want, irrespective of any modern conveniences he may be told that he will gain. This raises a moral issue since positive attitudes toward public housing are apt to gain momentum as involvement with it increases (Back, 1962:64). In light of this, then, the question arises how far should planning go in promoting public housing?

In further arguments put forth by the Local Advisory Committee and ones in which particularly Father Shea became adamant, it was argued that the establishment of public housing within the community would increase the stigma against the people, as outsiders would view the area as a low rent district. This feeling was supported by the prejudices which some members of the Committee had against row public housing in downtown St. John's which, in their opinion, often existed in a deteriorating condition.

The submission of their housing brief to the implementors of the urban renewal scheme did not meet with any immediate reaction. This caused some alarm on the part of the Local Advisory Committee members. The tension was heightened by the fact that throughout their making of proposals, there was a lack of knowledge of when public housing construction would begin. There was also little knowledge of the differences between the three types of public housing under consideration. The three types were: row (a string of apartment units, three or more, sharing a common wall), semi detached (two apartment units sharing a common wall),

and single units (each apartment is separated like a privately-owned house). Thus, there was a sense of urgency about their meetings, particularly in the fall of 1969, as the public works construction progressed to further stages of development.

Toward the end of March 1969, the Local Advisory Committee held its second joint meeting with the Implementation Committee. At that time, the lack of attention paid to its housing brief was brought up for discussion by the Local Advisory Committee. A representative from the NLHC then asked that the subject be tabled until the recently completed report by the Federal Task Force on Housing and Urban Development could be studied. Late in November 1968, the Honorable Paul Hellyer, Federal Minister of Transport, accompanied by members of his task force had briefly visited the project. Their report was finished by January 1969.

In their report, the Federal Task Force recommended:

The Federal Government should make loans to municipalities to acquire dispersed existing housing for use by low-income groups (1969:57).

As a further alternative to public housing serious consideration should be given to a program of income supplements to permit low-income families to rent or even purchase housing according to their own needs in the private market (Ibid.).

The provision of subsidized home ownership is another possible and worthwhile alternative to the present total reliance on public housing. Given, as recommended previously, a gradual reduction in down payment requirements to a point where home ownership could be acquired on a lease-purchase basis without any initial equity, this program would require little more than an amendment to the rental supplement scheme to permit payments to be converted at some stage to a mortgage loan (Ibid.).

The Task Force went on to suggest that even in the name of public housing, perhaps "rent to income" homes should be provided in the form of single family dwelling units.

The Task Force was much broader in scope than the Local Advisory Committee Report. The former placed much emphasis on income supplements in order to disperse low-income families throughout existing housing stocks in the private sector. Its view was national in scope and broad enough to include low-income home owners and low-income renters who might otherwise end up in public housing. The Task Force's main objective lay in making recommendations that would help correct what it saw as psychological reasons for an unhappy situation in row public housing. Social stigma, poor influence of neighbors, lack of privacy, and lack of incentive to make repairs or provide general upkeep on property the residents did not own were among the central issues. Ways to correct this were seen as mixed land use, the dispersion of low-income families across the face of a community, and control of blight by giving the residents a direct stake in their living quarters.

If nothing else, the Task Force raised a moral question for the country as a whole: Should we use public money to provide private home ownership or, at least, provide in some way better housing for the nation's poor? On the one hand, it may be argued that it is the 'just' thing to do and that in future years these acts will pay off in social dividends, e.g., less anti-social behavior. On the other hand, one of the engineers working on the Blackhead Road project asked, why he should allow his tax money to be used to provide another man with something he had to work a

good portion of his life to pay off by himself?⁵ While the Task Force, and in particular the Local Advisory Committee's housing brief, made strong arguments to show that subsidized home ownership could possibly work more cheaply than public housing construction, these arguments, as well as others centering on social dividends, were skirted in the beginning. Yet, in many instances, they were heard with sympathy by the officials at a later point in time. The enthusiasm for these arguments took place against the background belief that Blackhead Road could serve as a model project. However, the planners would argue that there were no legal provisions in the National Housing Act for subsidized home ownership and that what was done in Blackhead Road would have to stand for other parts of Newfoundland and perhaps even the whole country. They would then, in the face of adamant opposition from the residents to public housing, ask for an alternative proposal. Invariably, the Local Advisory Committee, feeling pressured, would fall back on their housing brief as evidence that they had thought about an alternative to public housing; aside from this, no alternatives to public housing were proposed. To them, it appeared as though the local officials with whom they talked should make a case to Ottawa. While the officials openly appeared to sympathize, there was never the satisfaction or visible evidence that the local officials had done enough to fight for the housing brief's case.

⁵This suggests that in order for subsidized home ownership to be more acceptable some plan must be devised which would also include a portion of the middle class as well as the working class poor. One suggestion might be for the Federal Government to subsidize interest rates in the \$5,000 to \$10,000 a year income brackets.

Hence, a futile deadlock developed. With the planners, the issue was how to justify subsidized home ownership within the present legal framework and to the public morality. To the residents, the issue became how to promote the project as an experimental model and/or how to change the law. Bolstering the residents' arguments was the belief that in the very beginning of the project they had been promised "a home for a home" or, in the event that a private home was demolished, that it would be replaced by another private home.

While no documentation exists for such promises, it has been rationalized that some officials of the Scheme may have made these promises verbally in the distant past in good faith based upon Provincial Legislation, namely the Family Homes Expropriation Act of 1964.

For the Province as a whole, this Act settled the moral issue raised above for it states in part:

The intent and purpose of this Act is that where it is decided to expropriate a family home the owner shall receive such compensation as will insure that the family unit is in no worse position as a result of the expropriation; it being recognized that strict market value is not in all cases a true compensation to a family unit which is dispossessed, since it may not provide equivalent accommodation....(Newfoundland, The Family Homes Expropriation Act, 1964: cl.8).

The Interim Report of 1965 spoke of compensation in terms of "replacement value", and the Final Report estimated compensation according to two headings: acquisition costs and the additional amounts under the Family Homes Expropriation Act. The legal interpretations of this appear to be multiple. Does the Act mean that another house will be given which complies with Minimum Property Standards when a house is expropriated

which does not meet these standards, or does it mean that compensation will be granted in cash to the amount it would take to replace the substandard home which was expropriated? Finally, there appears to be the question of, what is the relationship of market value to replacement value? Whatever their intellectual validations might be, such arguments only served to confuse the situation in light of the more direct and catchy phrase "a home for a home".

In April 1967, one month after the Final Report was issued, the Family Homes Expropriation Act was amended. The Act was no longer to apply to "substandard" homes in an "urban renewal" area where the family had "public housing" made available to them. Part of the Local Advisory Committee's job, then, was arguing for a return to the Family Homes Expropriation Act as it was prior to the amendment. Their arguments rested to some degree on how the Act got amended in the first place. John Crosbie, a Liberal, introduced the amendment before he had crossed the floor of the House of Assembly establishing what amounted to a Liberal reform movement in the Province. The fact that it was he and that Roger Merrick, so faithful to the Local Advisory Committee's cause, was Crosbie's campaign manager for the party leadership at their 1969 convention, caused a bit of embarrassment. Crosbie charged in the press that the amendment was due to pressure from the Federal Government and that CMHC would not agree to sharing with the Province in the inflated compensation which the Act would have required. This issue, he claimed, was a major contingency upon which the survival of the plan rested. CMHC officials deny applying any undue pressure since policy does not allow them to interfere with

local legislation. The actual events surrounding the matter, however, cannot be readily determined since the House of Assembly debates in Newfoundland have not been published for the past ten years and there are no public records.

While they tended to blend together and become meshed, basically there were two issues at hand. These were subsidized home ownership and fair compensation. Public housing in Blackhead Road was seen as a threat to both since each of the above subjects represented a means to obtain a home for a home. More confusion resulted over the process of expropriation as well, as was pointed out at a number of public meetings. There were the Expropriation Act and the Family Homes Expropriation Act both of which sounded remarkably similar. To clarify the situation, the Expropriation Act gave the authority to the Government to take land away in the public interest. The Family Homes Expropriation Act, however, dealt with a special instance where a private home was expropriated. Another question centered around what was a man's legal right to protect his property while he lived in it even though it was expropriated. For example, could anyone enter his grounds without a warrant or prior notice, e.g., a policeman, a government official, or a construction worker? Should a man keep up theft or fire insurance premiums? None of this was clear throughout the community.

Few seemed to know what a notice of expropriation was, and a number of individuals claimed that they could not remember having received one. This suggested that in ignorance some residents may have thrown the notice in the garbage with junk mail; or it opened up the possibility that some

residents may not have actually received one. Then there arose the question of exactly what was expropriated. Was it the house or the land or both? Was it everyone's house or just those whose homes had been demolished? Different people had different answers while some did not know. Given all of these large and broad issues, the Local Advisory Committee became quite preoccupied with arguing for a home for a home which appeared as the best central theme to bring all of these other questions and issues to a satisfactory conclusion.

Of further concern was that in the original plan, public housing was likely to affect 90 per cent of those whose homes were to be demolished. This accounted for approximately 25 per cent of the families in the community. While it may be argued that this was a minority, to the Local Advisory Committee it was too high of a percentage. Hence, the Committee referred the officials to its housing brief every chance it got. Almost no response was forthcoming, and for the better part of a year the group waited for some dialogue.

The feelings of the residents toward their homes does not appear to be isolated to Blackhead Road. In a study conducted in Puerto Rico with people living in similar housing conditions, it was found:

The resident of the slums wants to stay in his place mainly because he owns his house or because he feels that it is his home (Back, 1962:57).

There must be powerful deterrants acting on people living under inferior housing conditions, such that only a minority is willing to move into projects. These objections to life in housing projects were generally phrased as objections to paying rent and to living in apartments (Ibid.: 64).

With the one exception, to improve economic conditions, the suggestions (for alternatives to housing projects) were for various forms of subsidy for buying privately-owned houses. The most popular was that government build houses and sell them on installments (Ibid.).

In the sample survey of 54 home owners, each respondent was asked a series of five questions to determine general attitudes toward housing and the moral issues involved. Respondents were asked, do you feel that public housing in any form would lower the Blackhead Road in people's opinion? Of the sample, 46.2 per cent (25) said they thought it would, 25.9 per cent (14) thought that it would not, while a rather high 27.7 per cent (15) had no opinion on the matter. The next question was, do you know what is meant by the following terms: row public housing, minimum cost lot, co-operative housing, single family public housing, and semi-detached public housing? Table 13 shows the results.

From Table 13, it can be seen that most people felt they knew what some of the terms meant, while a sizable minority did not. Most of these people were willing to admit that they did not know rather than imply that they were unsure. In two instances, minimum cost lots and co-operative housing, less than half knew what the terms meant. This was a surprising result with reference to minimum cost lots which were the plots of ground to be sold to residents at the low price of \$500 and a subject which was a major issue with the Local Advisory Committee and some residents within the community. In addition to the results presented in Table 13, it was found that of those in the sample questioned on the meaning of the terms, 27.7 per cent (15) claimed to know all of them, 16.6 per cent (9) claimed they did not know any of them, and one person (1.8 per cent) was unsure

TABLE 13.--Answers of Sample Respondents to the Question:
Do you Know What is Meant by the Following Terms

	<u>Yes</u>		<u>No</u>		<u>Unsure</u>		<u>No Answer</u>		<u>Total</u>
	<u>No.</u>	<u>Per cent</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>Per cent</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>Per cent</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>Per cent</u>	<u>Per cent</u>
Row Public Housing	35	64.8	14	25.9	4	7.4	1	1.8	100%
Minimum Cost Lot	26	48.1	21	38.8	6	11.1	1	1.8	100%
Co-operative Housing	25	46.2	24	44.4	4	7.4	1	1.8	100%
Single Family Public Housing	38	70.3	14	25.9	1	1.8	1	1.8	100%
Semi-detached Public Housing	30	55.5	20	37.0	3	5.5	1	1.8	100%

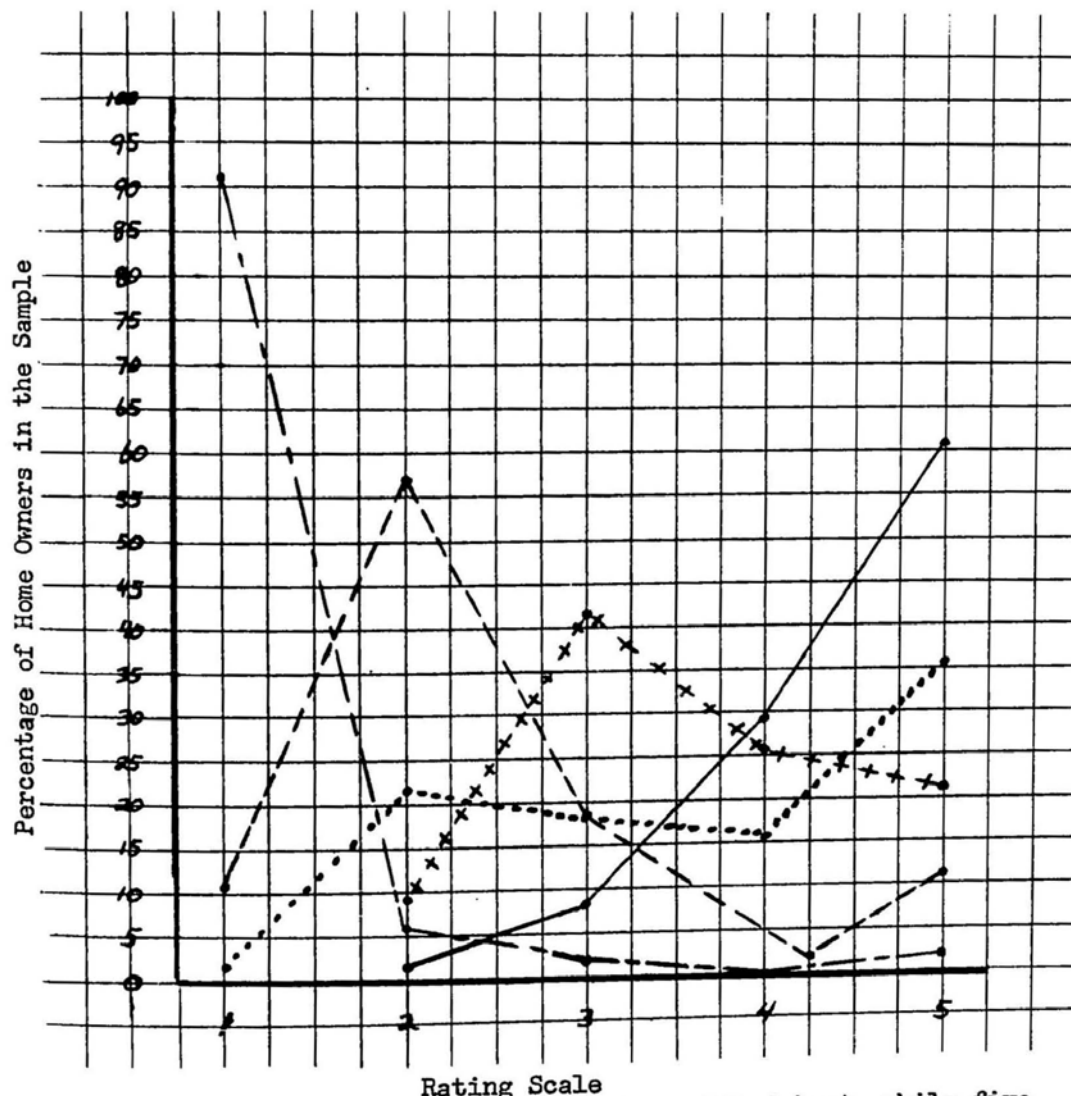
of all of them. The remaining 53.7 per cent (29) knew some of the terms and were either unsure or did not know the other terms.

Respondents were next asked to rate their housing preferences on a scale numbered from one to five. One indicated what they liked best, while five represented the opposite extreme, or what they liked least. Respondents were asked to rate each of the five types of housing differently so that each could be assessed in an ascending or descending order of preference. However, it was anticipated that some very strong feelings would be encountered. Thus, where a respondent became very insistent, the interviewers were instructed to allow the respondent to use the same number on the scale to represent his value toward more than one choice of housing. There were 12 such cases. In two of the cases, the respondents absolutely refused to give a rating to anything but "the house they are in now". To this choice they gave a "one", saying that they refused to consider anything else.⁶ Graph I, then, presents the contrasting results of the respondent's preference for housing.

As can be seen from Graph I, over 90 per cent (49) prefer their own homes over any other choice. That which was picked most frequently for a second choice was single family public housing (31), that picked most frequently as a third choice was semi-detached public housing (23), under choice four the most frequently picked was row public housing (16), and again under the fifth choice that picked most frequently was row public housing (33). Hence, of all the choices available, row public housing

⁶In these cases, the other four choices were coded as "5" or what they liked least.

GRAPH 1.--The rating of preference given by the home owners in the sample when presented with a choice of five kinds of housing



Rating Scale
(One represents the extreme of what was liked best, while five represents the other extreme of what was liked least)

Key:

— The home which the respondent presently owned.
- - - Single family public housing.

..... Co-operative housing.
+ + + + + Semi-detached public housing.
_____ Row public housing.

was the most unpopular. A large percentage of the respondents also picked co-operative housing under choice five. From the comments of some of the respondents, this occurred because of a fear of not being able to keep up financial participation in such a program. Significantly, it may also be seen from Graph I that except for single family units (a recommendation of the Federal Task Force on Housing and Urban Development), no one rated public housing as a first choice.

The fourth question the respondents were asked was, which do you feel is more important to you: a) modern conveniences, or b) home ownership? Of the sample, 87.0 per cent (47) chose home ownership, some of whom associated modern conveniences as implying some form of rent. Seven (12.9 per cent) chose modern conveniences over home ownership. With regard to the ages of those who picked either choice "a" or "b", both groups were above the mean age of the adult population in the area. Those choosing "a" were older (53 years) and those choosing "b" were generally younger (47 years). Still, the group choosing home ownership contained many older people in their mid fifties and sixties. The only meaningful age difference seems to be that most of the younger home owners prefer home ownership, while the older generation is marked by some division on the matter.

To further clarify the situation in the fifth question, the respondents were asked to place themselves in two difficult situations. They were, then, forced into choosing one situation over the other. The question was, which of the following two choices do you prefer:

- a) living in a community without modern services, (e.g., plumbing, paved streets, running water) where you did not have to worry about making regular payments.
- b) living in a community which has modern conveniences (e.g., paved roads, running water, sewage) but where you had to worry about paying taxes and making monthly payments to upgrade your house, or perhaps pay rent to a landlord.

Of the sample, 29.6 per cent (16) chose "a", and 70.3 per cent (38) chose "b". Those choosing "a" were the oldest group (mean age 53 years), and those choosing "b" were younger (mean age 46 years). The age groupings between questions four and five are remarkably similar. However, when the results of the fourth and fifth questions are compared, the results do not appear to be completely congruent. In the fourth question, home ownership was chosen over modern conveniences, while in the fifth question modern conveniences and the possible worries that might accompany them was chosen over the alternative possibility of living in a community without such services, but in which no additional burdens would be attached.

The choice which was specific in question four (between home ownership and modern conveniences) was implied in the fifth question. The implication is that modern conveniences could mean a loss of home ownership. As a point of fact, however, this was not the case for the majority of home owners, and a number of them could afford to sit back and ponder the fifth question with some security.

Differences between the percentages of those who made choices in each question were, therefore, expected. Some would read the implication into question five and others would not. What was produced, then, was a

genuine response based on the respondent's own definition of the situation. It was expected that most of those who picked home ownership in question four would also choose a community without modern services in question five because of mounting tensions toward public housing by the Local Advisory Committee and because of the uncertainty felt by many throughout the community over how urban renewal would affect them. On the face of it, however, one question obviously dealt with home ownership, while the other question most obviously dealt with the prospect of modern conveniences.

Three things may now be said about the comparison of questions four and five. First, in question five part "b" (a community with modern services) there is a qualification to be made. Examples of how the cost of living could increase with modern conveniences were given in "b", and it was anticipated that some strong feelings might result over this. Hence, the interviewers were instructed to probe the question. Ten respondents did take strong exception. Three people were concerned that a general rise in costs might force them inevitably to choose "a". One respondent said that if he anticipated high taxes he would choose "a" over the choice he had made of "b". Six respondents, however, mentioned rent. They insisted that rent be deleted from the considerations in the question and that if paying rent became a necessary condition that they would choose "a". Taking these ten more vocal people into consideration, then, those choosing "a" in question five would go from 29.6 per cent up to 48.1 per cent (26) and the number choosing "b" would decrease from 70.3 per cent to 51.8 per cent (28). Hence, given certain conditions,

there is a tendency for the percentages in question five to reverse and more closely resemble those in question four as expected.

Second, on the face of it, there does not appear to have developed to a major extent the fear that modern conveniences will result in the loss of home ownership although, as we have seen, some people are wavering on this point in regard to taxes and an increased cost of living.

Third, from the above, it may be said that if a direct choice is to be made between home ownership and modern conveniences, the choice is home ownership. However, if a loss of home ownership is not a direct threat, the respondents are for the most part willing to consider an increase in the general cost of living that might result from their desires to own homes. As taxpayers, they can visualize owning their own homes, but the subject of rent means the loss of this. As was the case in Puerto Rico, the subject of rent is a major variable when determining attitudes toward housing in Blackhead Road.

Up to now, we have been looking only at the point of view of home owners and have looked at the issues as if the only people to be affected by public housing were those whose homes were to be demolished by the Scheme. Such a view is oversimplified, but it, nevertheless, accounts for the major concerns of the Local Advisory Committee. Complicating the picture was the position of some renters. For those displaced by the urban renewal project, public housing could be viewed as a way of dealing with the whole situation in a simplified manner. However, some renters in the area were not prepared to accept a public housing solution. The point of view of these renters was never given much importance

in vocal arguments in the community. One reason for this may be the way in which some renters felt that their position was the same as any of the home owners. The position here was that some renters viewed themselves as being home owners.

These people were individuals who had become victims of the Metropolitan Area Board's restrictive legislation.⁷ Over the years, a few families had built homes on land given to them by relatives or had built on land purchased at a nominal price from neighbors. Their homes, however, had been destroyed through fire or some other natural catastrophe, and they had tried to rebuild. In a number of such instances, the owners were told to discontinue construction, and what had been accomplished was demolished. Some of these people, then, saw the urban renewal project as a means under which they could replace their former homes. Hence, while speaking technically, they were now renters the same as anyone who formally goes about looking for rental accommodations, their predisposition was directed toward home ownership. From their point of view, their situation was similar to and should have been dealt with in the same manner as those people who had had their homes demolished by the urban renewal project and who, they felt, had been promised "a home for a home". Their reasoning was that in both instances, demolition was by order of the Government and, hence, there was a connection between the reasons for past restrictive legislation and the house demolition policy of the present urban renewal project. Thus, they joined the ranks of those who argued "a home for a home".

⁷The actual number of renters in this position could not be assessed.

To all of this, the planners saw public housing as the solution. It could provide for displaced home owners, displaced renters, and help relieve some of the overcrowded conditions in the community without becoming unnecessarily complicated about special interest groups or the legal provisions in the National Housing Act. It was clear that they saw subsidized home ownership as an impossibility under this Act, and further they saw little indication it would ever change to permit it in spite of anything they had to say. Pressure from the Local Advisory Committee, and from Roger Merrick and Father Shea independently, was successful in forestalling any decisions on when public housing construction would begin and on the type of public housing to be constructed in the immediate future. The alternative types of public housing have already been covered. They were row, semi-detached, or single family units. Also under consideration for a short time were the possibilities of two methods of payment for public housing. The first, and the one decided upon, was for the Province, through the NLHC, to enter into the normal cost-sharing arrangement with the Federal Government. This would amount to the 25 per cent/75 per cent arrangement discussed in Chapter IV. The second method was for the Province to borrow up to 90 per cent of the acquisition costs. Under this plan, the Province would eventually own the public housing instead of being involved in a continual partnership as is the case under the 25 per cent/75 per cent cost-sharing arrangement. With the Province owning the public housing, it was argued, the housing could then be sold to the residents on a subsidized basis. Residents would be allowed to create equity from the portion of the subsidized rent they paid or from

the portion of the rent paid for them by the Department of Welfare. This proposal, however, was found to involve too large an immediate cash outlay from the Province. As one NLHC executive noted, "This is legislation meant for rich provinces like Ontario."

In the following months after the Local Advisory Committee had become defunct, the newly formed Householder's Union took up the cause opposing public housing. However, by September 1970, the officials were able to get a few of the members of the Union executive to approve public housing in the form of semi-detached units. While some continued to argue for private home ownership, the issues of growing momentum were those regarding where public housing should be located and how much would be needed. Important to note here, then, is the compromising solution found by the officials. They saw no way to implement subsidized home ownership, they saw individual single family units as too expensive, and they saw row public housing as being too objectionable. While semi-detached units are not what the people of Blackhead Road bargained for, and it falls short of the recommendations in the report by the Task Force on Housing and Urban Development, this form of public housing is an advancement which moves away from many of the disadvantages of row apartments. It can be used, for example, to distribute low-income families about the face of a community, and it affords a greater measure of privacy.

This is by no means the first instance in which semi-detached housing units have been constructed in Canada. In fact, even single family units have been experimented with in St. John's. However, from the point of view of cost and maintenance, they have not been hailed as the most

efficient types of public housing. In the United States, where row housing and stacked public housing (high rise public apartment buildings) are popular with officials, the attitude toward semi-detached units was summed up thusly:

My answer to the question as to whether there has been public housing built in units of single or two family is negative....

As you are aware, there is a critical demand for housing in every country and since the most economical and fastest method is that of row-type housing or stacked (apartments) that is the way public housing is done (Personal correspondence, Lucas to Williamson, January 14, 1970).

In concluding this section on housing, it might be well to mention that there is little indication that the community as a whole would not accept the entrance of public housing eventually, although some home owners may continue to personally object to moving into it. Both the Local Advisory Committee and the Householder's Union have conceded privately, at one time or another, that public housing would probably benefit some residents in the community. Next, we have seen on Graph I that semi-detached units were accepted as a middle choice, a compromise, by many of the residents in the sample. Last, there is good evidence from Kurt Back's study done in Puerto Rico that people (particularly older residents and younger families with many children) are more apt to accept public housing once it is underway and they become more personally involved with it.

In addition, public housing, as it is envisioned for Blackhead Road, has some advantages. To begin, it is to be built within the community.

This should relieve local residents from the hardships of scattering to unfamiliar surroundings in a massive relocation program. Hence, a minimum disruption of extended kinship ties should take place. It should help to relieve some of the overcrowding in the area and raise the living standard of some of the renters who do not consider themselves as home owners. Last, the original concept of public housing for the area is that it be designed to accommodate only the number of residents in the community requiring it. Such a desire would eliminate any potential difficulties which could arise between the "locals" and incoming "outsiders". However, as we have already seen, what is planned is not necessarily what will be agreed to. Hence, there has been some talk of allowing outsiders to enter. The possible consequences of this will be briefly mentioned in the conclusions.

Compensation and Minimum Cost Lots

The subject of compensation and minimum cost lots is not isolated from that of housing. It has, for example, already been necessary to discuss the Family Homes Expropriation Act which is Provincial legislation dealing with conditions for compensation. With this Act amended and the Local Advisory Committee protesting the amendment, the two most prominent issues centered around when compensation would be paid and the establishment of a fair price for property.

Compensation was not immediately forthcoming to the residents with the expropriation of the whole community. The plan was to expropriate the whole community first, begin the project, and to settle land titles

later. In order to establish land titles, surveys had to be made, and residents were required to present evidence of ownership. Pointed out in a previous section were the complications produced in establishing ownership. The process of straightening all of this out was a slow one. Consequently, a great deal of concern was created on the part of many residents who, over a period of more than a year, eventually believed that the Government had lied and that they never would be paid. To many residents, it appeared that the construction companies were bullying their way on to land which either they had no right to enter or which they felt had been stolen from them. Some described the urban renewal project as Hitler tactics and proclaimed that the last war had been fought against government's arbitrary seizure of property. They wanted their money first as proof of integrity and honesty before expropriation.

There are a number of complications arising from this. For example, what about a man who cannot prove ownership of any land? Under the plan, he has a right to fight his case in the courts, a process of which most in the community have no understanding. Will the urban renewal leaders accept proof of residence for a given period of time as ownership of land which a man claims? If they do, on what criteria would they accept one resident's claim over another, and on what criteria will they accept his word on how much land he owns? These questions were not tackled in the Final Report. It will be recalled, too, that in some cases land disputes already existed between neighbors. There were also a few cases where residents complained that urban renewal recognized some of their land as belonging to a neighbor. The recommendation of the Chairman of the Local

Advisory Committee was that an agent be hired to go from door to door and bargain with people. From personal experience in other parts of Newfoundland, he felt that, in general, such a system would work since an excessive price on one home could be made up by a lower price on another home. The fact that the land had already been expropriated would facilitate the bargaining process. Basically, his aim was to a) speed up payment of compensation, and b) to devise a more personal system of arranging compensation that would work toward greater satisfaction with money received. Under the system in use by the Scheme, an appraisal board was set up which made direct offers for homes based on their assessment, and if the occupant was dissatisfied he could go through an official process and bring his case to an arbitration board. Two things were misunderstood by most of the residents: 1) the method of expropriation, and 2) the process of arbitration.

The method of expropriation and compensation is complicated and was designed to work differently to fit a range of circumstances. A man whose home was to be demolished would receive a cash settlement; a paper transaction occurred if a man's house was not to be demolished and if he owned exactly the same amount of land or less land than the urban renewal project was willing to deed back to him in accordance with its planned lot sizes. While the Final Report did not go into detail, the idea was discussed that if a man owned less land than the uniform lot sizes, he would be given extra land free. If he owned more land, he was to be compensated in cash for the difference between the planned lot size and what he actually owned. Thus, there were two methods of compensation. To the

residents, this did not appear simple since many did not know which course of action was to affect them, and many of those who expected to receive cash were upset because they had not received payment. Therefore, a man who was to come under a paper transaction was just as likely to be upset over the unannounced intrusion of construction workers on his property as a man who was to be paid in cash. The reasoning was that each man had a right to privacy until he had witnessed a purchasing transaction of his property giving the title and all inherent rights to someone else. A check or some cash was the proper mediating symbol. A notice of expropriation was likely to be misunderstood.

Many encounters occurred with people who resented that they had not been paid. Compensation, then, was the central theme and not the planned methods of expropriation. The tension was heightened by the fact that there was no routine established to warn people when a construction crew was about to descend on their property. In addition, many individual instances arose over what people considered to be abuse by the construction workers. This encompassed such claims as insufficient warning before blasts were set off; the destruction of a fence, vegetable garden, or a porch either through accidental or deliberate action of a bulldozer; the loss of a well or those things which were looked at in Chapter V as conveniences. The rather passive attitude toward all of this was explored in the last chapter, and hence, there were only isolated incidences of outright obstruction of work. By the fall of 1969, only two cases had gone far enough to require court action.

Most sympathy was voiced in the community over neighbors who had been "temporarily" moved downtown because their homes had been demolished. These people, it was felt, would never be able to afford to return to the community or at least not be able to return as home owners. While compensation to them was to be in cash, which could be used as a down payment on a minimum cost lot, the compensation was not enough to allow them to build a house in addition to acquiring a lot. Therefore, the Local Advisory Committee grumbled that the Blackhead Road project involved "permanent relocation" after all since many of these residents, they reasoned, would not want to return to the community as renters in public housing. Three points were argued here: 1) Not enough compensation had been awarded and those temporarily relocated may decide not to return. 2) Some residents had accepted offers too fast, not because they were anxious, but because they did not understand their situation. For example, either they thought the offer might go down if they waited or they saw no way to fight for more. 3) Some residents were under the incorrect impression that their neighbors downtown were being forced to pay rent. Generally, it was felt that offers were too low, and some argued that they were below the five cents a square foot recommended in the Final Report.

The principal argument for greater compensation rested not on actual land value but on the question of what could be done with it. What good was \$900 or \$2,000 compensation for a house? they asked. What could a person buy with it? It was too little to afford a \$500 lot and the cost of rebuilding on it. Hence, what security could it bring when considered

alongside their previous home? Many saw it as a sum that would just get dribbled away over the months and years. The over-all solution was public housing but as we have seen this was largely unacceptable. To some degree, the residents who were moved downtown clung to their dreams of rebuilding and resented what they considered to be low figures in compensation. As a group, they were not vocal and they had little means to organize. Hence, only isolated cases of resentment were heard.

The best example which illustrates their position occurred on September 14, 1969 when Father Shea held a meeting of these people. Out of a total of about 20 families, only 12 people showed up. The small number was not due solely to any lack of interest. The addresses and the exact number of people temporarily located downtown were unknown to the Church, the School, and the Local Advisory Committee. In an attempt to locate them, the Urban Renewal Office was asked to provide the needed information. Upon their failure, Father Shea attempted to locate the people by circulating a handbill to the residents of the community. The handbill, which was to be taken home by the school children, requested information from their parents. The method failed to provide a comprehensive list.

Another issue which became a matter of concern to the Local Advisory Committee was, on what basis could a fair market value upon which to pay compensation be established? Taking this into consideration, they queried the Government's criteria for establishing values. This subject was also an issue in the 1965 Interim Report. However, the Local Advisory Committee's questions were asked quite independently of this report since

they were never given a copy of it. The Interim Report notes the lack of criteria because homes in the area were not built by contractors, houses were produced from secondhand material, few sales were made through an agent, and the fact that properties were never municipally assessed. As rough indicators of the value of properties, the Interim Report went on to suggest estimates from the 1961 census, comments made to interviewers for the Interim Report, and estimates of basic house designs (Project Planning Associates, 1965:11).

From the first, the Local Advisory Committee sensed a danger in establishing fair market value too hastily. At the same time, they feared that each acceptance of compensation by individual residents would help to strengthen the Government's case. In the spring of 1969, then, the Local Advisory Committee set about to organize and present a test case to the arbitration board which they hoped would serve as a model. They chose the case of Ralph Markus. In February of 1969, Markus had approached the Local Advisory Committee, and by April it was decided his case would be the first.

Markus's property consisted of two dwellings located on .62 acres of land. The dwelling he and his family occupied was two stories and contained a kitchen and three bedrooms. The second dwelling was one story and smaller. It was rented to another family whom Markus claimed paid him \$40 a month. While the case was not in itself a typical one, it was felt that it contained elements of a variety of situations which could arise. Roger Merrick, then, negotiated for a lawyer and for an independent appraiser to take the case gratis. The original offer had been in the

neighborhood of \$3,500 for the land and both dwelling units. Not only was it felt that the offer for the physical assets was too low, but it was also felt that not enough compensation had been awarded on the basis of the potential loss of rent over future years. In May, the independent appraiser judged that on the basis of the physical assets and on the basis that \$60 a month was a fair rent, that compensation should have been \$9,500. The arbitration board then met to hear Ralph Markus's case. It now became the Justice Department's turn to present evidence. However, for months no evidence was presented and a final ruling could not be made until it was. In the meantime, more residents were being displaced. The morale of the Local Advisory Committee dropped, and the whole question of the value of going to arbitration came under suspicion. Finally, in October 1969, Roger Merrick was able to press the machinery back into action. The arbitration board met and awarded Markus \$8,760. Surprisingly, the new award was made in consideration of what was a fair replacement value based on the Family Homes Expropriation Act. This, as the Local Advisory Committee had hoped, stood to open up a whole new area of argument. Those who had not given in and had not accepted offers for their homes now felt that they stood some chance of increasing their compensation, while those who had accepted offers were beyond any help that might now be given.

In the last section, it will be recalled that the amendment to the Act had specified the terms "substandard", "urban renewal project", and "public housing". Since no definition of "substandard" exists in the amendment and because, in the opinion of the arbitration board, the

property was not "substandard", they ruled the Act was valid. In November, however, Ralph Markus was informed that the arbitration decision would be appealed to the Newfoundland Supreme Court. Here, the Province won a substantial reduction. Any hopes that had been raised over the process of arbitration were immediately lowered. The effort was considered a failure by the residents who had followed the case and who then argued, why establish an arbitration board at all if its decisions are not binding?

Generally, the arbitration process was not viewed as an acceptable solution. In the first place, residents were afraid that they would have to bear the legal costs if they lost their cases. Second, many felt that they did not stand a chance to defeat the Government which they viewed as more powerful and smarter than themselves. Thus, they were resigned to the offers made to them by the urban renewal project. To paraphrase their feelings: What is the use of fighting because they are going to give you what they like anyway.

A number of those who had been moved downtown originally expected to regain home ownership when the project was completed and badly wanted to acquire a minimum cost lot. Others living in the community who anticipated being displaced also wanted minimum cost lots.⁸ Moreover, many of these people wanted to make the arrangements to purchase a lot immediately. For this, the Scheme was not prepared. It will be recalled that almost immediately after expropriation construction began. This

⁸The actual number who were to be displaced is not important here since the number who feared displacement does not coincide with the actual number to be displaced. The lack of communication throughout the project was such that most people did not know for sure what was going to happen.

hardly allowed any time for the proper documents to be prepared, for the proper surveys to be completed, and for the lots to be serviced.

Because the Final Report and its plan to create a number of minimum cost lots had been approved in principal by CMHC, the Urban Renewal Office informed the Local Advisory Committee that the sale of minimum cost lots would commence as soon as possible. In February 1969, the Local Advisory Committee was informed that, taking into consideration the work schedule presented in the Final Report, some minimum cost lots could be expected to go on sale by July. However, none of these lots had been officially placed on the open market by as late as September 1970. The projections were miscalculated due to a number of unforeseen circumstances, not all of which were the responsibility of the Scheme's implementors. At first, the difficulty lay in completing surveys of land, drawing up deeds, and in administrative priorities. Most of the weight was given to completing public works. In addition, throughout the project the implementors ran into the problem of the removal of survey markers. Most speculated that they were being stolen. In the meantime, a number of residents made application for lots which could not be properly processed on schedule. After months of waiting, many became discouraged and interpreted the delay in processing lot applications as an attempt to put them off. They saw it as the run-around. Prior to 1970, however, two successful cases of lot purchasing had occurred, and they served to strengthen the argument that favoritism was being played. Rather than favoritism, the sale of these two lots prematurely represented extreme persistence and determination on the part of their new owners.

In one instance, many letters were written, and the Department of Veteran Affairs helped in the matter since the man in question had years ago purchased his land through this Federal agency. After almost a year of fighting the bureaucracy, he was able to purchase a new lot and begin construction of a new home. His was the first case. The second case also involved a man who had persistently tried to get answers about when he could purchase a new lot. Having a specific lot in mind, he waited until November to make his move when the Urban Renewal Officer was on vacation. After waiting unsuccessfully for his application to be processed, he went to the Urban Renewal Office with a check for \$500 and the lot number marked on it. Without question, the clerk at the Urban Renewal Office accepted the check and it was cashed. When the canceled check was returned, the resident used it as a receipt for proof of sale. He then demanded his land. The Urban Renewal Office complied, and he began construction of his new home with a loan from CMHC. He was lucky for as yet the Scheme had no lots up for sale.

All other contenders for land were still waiting until they could make their purchases. Among them were home owners and renters. The home owners were impatient for having had to wait almost a year. The despair of the situation was summed up, however, by a renter in reply to the grumblings of a neighbor who was a home owner. Said the renter:

Me house burned ('X') years ago. When I went to rebuild they wouldn't let me. I've been trying ('X') years for a building lot, so I know the problem. When me house burned I guess I was suppose to burn with it.

In general, it may be said that the cause of the renters and others who had special interests (e.g., some residents outside the boundaries of the Scheme who were eligible to move into the area, and shopkeepers who might lose income to a new shopping plaza in the area) were never brought fully to the surface.⁹ For the most part, their special interests were subordinated to those arguments made by home owners within the Scheme and in particular those who expected that their homes would be demolished. In the process, little was done to develop these special interest groups since they came to interpret their own problems as not being strikingly different from everyone else's.

Following the arguments over compensation, the next major problem to result concerning minimum cost lots was over the planned location of these lots within the community. In the Final Report, the proposal was made that the community be divided into three zones and that each zone contain a different set of prices for lots. Hence, the southeastern portion of the valley, called zone three, was to contain the high priced

⁹While the focus of this thesis is limited to the boundaries of the urban renewal scheme, it would be a mistake to completely ignore people outside these boundaries who were also involved. Some people outside the Scheme and living along Blackhead Road were also contenders for minimum cost lots. Further, they regarded themselves as part of the Blackhead Road community. One man from this outside area wanted to rebuild on a cheap lot within the Scheme, while others expected to have their homes moved. One argument put forth, but which never became an issue at large, centered about what compensation would be due these people if they decided to move and allowed the Government to take over their land. For people in their circumstances, it was asked if Resettlement funds (explained in Chapter IV) could be used to help them. Such a possibility would have made these people better off than any of the other contenders for minimum cost lots. While this was also a prospect mentioned in the Final Report, there is no evidence that the urban renewal officials ever seriously explored this possibility.

lots costing \$2,500 each. This area looked over the City. To the rear of this area and a setting close to the most central shopping district which was planned would be zone two with lots costing \$2,000. Dividing zone three and most of zone two from the rest of the community was the new access road to Cape Spear. To the west of this road was most of the community called zone one, and it was to contain the low-priced lots. These lots were to sell for \$1,500 except in cases where a plot had been set aside as a minimum cost lot (The reader is referred to Map I in Chapter I, page 4 which marks the location of the new access road to Cape Spear and indicates how the community was to be divided). All of the minimum cost lots, then, were scheduled to be sold in the western section of the community where most of the people lived. The argument advanced by the planners in doing this was that the minimum cost lots were placed near most of the homes which had been demolished, thus encouraging people to rebuild near their original neighbors. By encouraging them to do this, it was hoped that the social networks in the community would be disrupted as little as possible by the urban renewal process.

The general outline of the Scheme was available to anyone who took the trouble to look. A 1968 master plan hung in one of the hallways of St. John Bosco School, one hung in full view at the Urban Renewal Office, and a small model of the project had been constructed for display purposes at the Urban Renewal Office. While these maps were not kept up to date, a general idea of what was to take place was certainly available. With regard to the placement of minimum cost lots, many residents did not like what they saw. What these people wanted was to be able to pick any lot

in the Scheme for \$500 before outsiders were given a chance to buy. They reasoned that it was their community and that the object of renewal had been to uplift their living standard and create a model community. Further, they saw the best lots as being those which looked over the City or those which, in their opinion, had decent soil and good access to shopping areas. They felt that because they were in the community first any given lot within the Scheme should be made available to them for the special price of \$500. Certainly, as it was, they were going to have a great deal of difficulty producing \$500, let alone \$1,000 or \$2,000. The planners countered these arguments noting that any change in the plan could result in the loss of recoveries and that the higher-priced lots needed to be sold in order to help offset the subsidized costs of the lower-priced lots. All serviced lots in the Scheme were subsidized, but some were more heavily subsidized than others. The concept of "recoveries" versus the concept of "profit" was not immediately grasped, and in early 1970, an article appeared in an underground publication operating out of Fredericton, New Brunswick which accused the Province of making a \$299,296 profit. The article summarized only the land acquisition and disposal costs, neglecting to include the costs of public works and other expenses. The difference between recoveries and profit is a gulf apart.¹⁰ When the article appeared in wide circulation throughout the community, public

¹⁰ Recoveries constitute monies regained to help offset the burden of large costs, e.g., if a lot costs \$5,000 to service and is then sold for \$3,000, it is sold at a \$2,000 loss with \$3,000 in recoveries. Profit would indicate the amount of money grossed over and above the original costs, e.g., if a lot cost \$5,000 to service and was sold for \$6,000, the profit would be \$1,000.

meetings were utilized by the planners with the support of members of the Local Advisory Committee to assure the residents that the Scheme was not out to make a profit. This misunderstanding served to alert the officials more than before of the possibilities of outsiders to the Scheme misconstruing their intentions.

Noticing, in comparison to the west, that the eastern side of the new access road was more sparsely populated, a few residents reasoned that most outsiders would probably want to locate there. A few residents, therefore, began to suspect that when this was taken with the placement of the minimum cost lots, that ghettos would spring up within the community. Certainly, from a sociological standpoint, the manner in which the new access road divides the community provides the potential for social rifts to develop. Already mentioned is the fact that some dichotomy between the east and west of the Blackhead Road area exists (Chapter III). To make matters more intense, the plan called for high-priced lots to be placed on one side of the road and for lower-cost lots to predominate on the other side of the road.¹¹ However, in one attempt to distribute low-income people more fully throughout the community, some public housing was planned for zone two which would also border on the higher-priced area of zone three.

¹¹From the standpoint of this observer, the new access road to Cape Spear would have been better placed had it been built near the route of the old Navy road in the valley. From there, it could have wound its way up the eastern border of the community beside the tank farms and then turned west along the rear of the community until it joined up with Blackhead Road.

Some residents also noticed that as the main water and sewage pipes were being laid, "laterals" were being placed at the property lines of certain plots which they could not envision being turned into usable lots. Some laterals stuck up directly in front of large walls of rock which, in some cases, stood higher than a man. While previously their fears had centered around the possibility that house connections might not be made, it now began to dawn on a few that perhaps these rock mounds or cliffs were to be turned over to them as minimum cost lots. Until the summer of 1970, it all remained speculation.

Other Problems

The Local Advisory Committee considered other problems relating to the Scheme, many of which were never brought to a successful conclusion and which, therefore, contributed to the Committee's sense of demoralization. To a large extent, this resulted from a lack of communication between the Local Advisory Committee and the other committees in charge of the Scheme. By the fall of 1969, the Committee had become very upset that many of the questions they sent in formal communiques to the Implementation Committee were not being answered. The Local Advisory Committee was out of touch, and hence, was forced into speaking of matters on its agenda in speculative terms. In the process, it tried to reason with and ponder over its situation.

They were also uncertain about their own position within the community. For example, it became very concerned over those items outlined in Chapter V as inconveniences (poor roads, blasting procedures, trenches

left open, etc.), but they were unable to make any definite statements about any of it. Within the community, there was a lot of grumbling and criticism made over living conditions during the construction. Much of this came to the attention of the Local Advisory Committee as its resident members saw the project progress in daily life and witnessed complaints at public meetings. However, few complaints were brought to the Committee in a formal capacity. In addition, the Committee's efforts were not well publicized and went unnoticed or were not understood by many of the residents. Thus, its efforts to present a housing brief or to organize a case for arbitration did not become major issues throughout the community. Moreover, the Committee spent much of its time upset over the hardships encountered in living on a construction site which, as we saw in Chapter V, was not an issue of priority in the community at large as long as urban renewal was prepared to deliver all of its promises. The Committee saw as over-all injustice what we were able to treat in the sample as inconveniences, which were tough to endure perhaps, but necessary to achieve an end.

The Committee was upset over what they called the "mess" that had been created, and these issues are worth some brief exploration. The Committee was not without some informal support for the issues it chose. Most in the community, including the Committee, complained of poor roads, but sufficient momentum never grew to make it a rallying point. While complaints of blasting, the demolition of a well, or the destruction of a fence were widely complained about, they were thought of as individual problems. Another item complained about by the Committee was what they

felt were insufficient precautions taken for safety in the construction areas. The contractors denied that adequate safety procedures had been ignored and charged that signs and warning lights had been stolen. Nevertheless, the picture of the community during this time was not bright. Ditches, in some cases, were more than ten feet deep and lay open for entire stretches of road blocking normal access to homes and to the School. Narrow wood paths were constructed at intervals across these holes. Residents were given notices (some claimed they only had one day's notice) to stock up on the necessary groceries, oil, and water because normal access to their homes would be sealed off for more than a week. Residents braved mud, rocky inclines, and hazardous back paths to gain entrance to their homes. Older men and women, in particular, risked severe injury traveling over such unusual terrain, especially at night when attempting to attend a public meeting or bingo. Young children risked accidents in normal play, and the project was not without such accidents. Most accidents, however, were minor, but the Local Advisory Committee exclaimed surprise that no one was killed.

With the construction of new roads, some homes were found to be below road grade level, and the fear of flooding became prominent. But at the same time, the speculation that the original plans had been wrong and that last minute changes in road grade levels had been made became popular among some of the residents and, in particular, the Local Advisory Committee. Rumors grew, and as they did some of the implementors became worried of upsets.

Information filtered down to the Local Advisory Committee that the construction companies were losing money on the project, and the fear was expressed that they might find a way to pull out, leaving the community in a mess and without the promised water and sewage. On this point, the Committee was in a bind. By the fall of 1969, the Committee had become sufficiently satisfied that the project was being handled in a callous manner. To correct this, they wanted to demonstrate, but they did not want to close the project down permanently which they were afraid would happen if they rebelled. Thus, they decided to wait until such time as they felt that there was no turning back for the Scheme's officials.

To illustrate the state of mind of some of the members on the Committee, we shall turn to the subject of road grade levels. Speculation over road grades and the manner in which the project was being carried out led to questions of conflict of interest. For example, it was asked, if Project Planning Associates was hired to carry out the original design and estimates of the project and then were also hired to supervise the construction, were they not in an excellent position to tamper with some of the original designs since extra money would have to be spent to make corrections on the plans as work progressed? One member of the Local Advisory Committee reasoned thusly: A road is to be built and the standard practice (they were unsure of the actual practice in the community) is to be paid by the cubic yard of material to be dug out or filled in. Now if a road is to be a certain grade and a pipe line must go under the road, what happens if the engineering for the road grade is not co-ordinated with the grade levels for the pipes? It was considered by the Committee

that the reason for some homes being below road grade level was because of faulty engineering and that the construction companies had been required to fill in more soil than was originally anticipated. Speculation further went that such practices would help greatly to offset losses.

In addition to the above, the Committee was anxious to have Memorial University's Extension Service enter the community to help with their problems. Here, they were disillusioned over the politics in negotiating for this. They were also becoming increasingly worried about the lack of communication with the other two Committees in charge of the Scheme. Hence, there grew a lack of trust in the Scheme's implementors and a lack of confidence over what the project would eventually do for the residents of the community.

The Local Advisory Committee, Public Meetings, and Other Groups

As was earlier pointed out, the Local Advisory Committee started out optimistically. However, during the summer of 1969, activities declined as Roger Merrick was unable to attend meetings. Both he and Father Shea had become the principal anchor men for the Committee. Following July, the Assistant Urban Renewal Officer was returned to CMHC, and no one from the Urban Renewal Staff or the Implementation Committee was directly connected with the group. No secretary was given to the Committee at this time, and no minutes were kept. In late August when Merrick once again began attending meetings, the morale of the Committee was very low.

From the above, then, the Local Advisory Committee of Blackhead Road fits the model of advisory committees given by the Voluntary Action Committee in the Canadian Association for Adult Education. Specifically:

We are concerned with the advisory groups brought into existence by some form of official sanction for the express purpose of advising government in a certain area of its operation. These boards have no official status as bodies advisory to government (no date:3).

The advisory board has no legislative or executive powers.... It may initiate extensive programs of research in order to gather information on which to base its recommendations to government. But it has no power to make decisions arising from these recommendations or to set in motion action to implement them (Ibid.:4).

Based on the research of the Voluntary Action Committee in Canada and on a seminar called to discuss common objectives to the usefulness or effectiveness of advisory committees the following was found:

An underlying weakness in the advisory process is the possible failure of a government to make a response -- favorable or otherwise--.... A board may simply not know what the government's reaction is to the advice it sends forward (Ibid.:13).

It is admittedly a great weakness of the advisory process that a board has no authority to insist that its advice reach the persons to whom it is directed, much less to require that they consider it seriously when it arrives (Ibid.:14).

A board's field of interest may cut across the work of a voluntary group. The Voluntary Association may feel that the task it has set itself is now less urgent and may come to look to the board to take on its activities and concerns (Ibid.:15).

....board members do not 'represent' specific interests or segments of the community in the sense that they speak with their backing (Ibid.:17).

Based on the preceding, then, the Local Advisory Committee in Blackhead Road amounted to a classic example of advisory boards. It was

unsure of the extent of its authority, had replaced a voluntary group, and was uncertain of its position within the community. Two indicators of the degree of resident support exist. One is the lack of response from the community to formally bring problems to the Committee. Second, out of the sample of home owners, 35 per cent (19) did not know the purpose of the group, 9.2 per cent (5) were unsure, while 55.5 per cent (30) did know the purpose. However, of those aware of the Committee's purpose, there were some who spoke of it unfavorably and felt that it was a means of political patronage.

Since the Committee felt that the issues and its own position within the community were recondite, it began to attempt some corrective steps. To begin, it had been holding its meetings in the Urban Renewal Office, a practice it decided to discontinue. It reasoned that it was being looked upon as part of the urban renewal framework which was unwilling to take seriously the people's complaints. Hence, it moved its meetings to St. John Bosco School. Next, it decided to call a series of public meetings to be held between the officials and the residents. In actual fact, only one such meeting with the officials was carried out by the Committee, but it led to an important series of events.

On October 1, 1969, a public meeting was called to be held in the St. John Bosco School gym. The meeting had excellent attendance including Scheme officials, local Provincial politicians, the Federal representative, the urban renewal social worker, and some of the teachers from St. John Bosco. During the meeting, one teacher took exception to what appeared to him to be the dogmatic attitude of the officials. As a

result, he stood up and delivered a powerful speech which was met with applause and yelling. He called for the residents to organize. Father Shea got up and holding the Final Report in full view argued with the officials about their plans to place public housing in the area. This was the first that some residents had heard that they would not receive "a home for a home". Further, it was the first time many of them had seen the Final Report. "How did Father Shea get a hold of it?" some asked. "Did you see him reading their own figures back to them?" was another response. Yet, in spite of all of this, the meeting did not give rise to any massive attempts to organize on the part of the residents. What attempts were made to organize came from outsiders to the community. The main exception to this was the efforts put forth by Tom Smyth, whom we mentioned in Chapters III and V. He was a man who was extremely active in the community in a number of ways, of which working for the Local Advisory Committee was only one. However, he was considered by some of his neighbors to be an outsider. This attitude appeared to develop as he became more vocal. Facilitating the criticism made of him was the fact that he was newly returned to the community after some 20 years of absence. Almost immediately upon his return, he jumped into the thick of community affairs. Those residents who did become critical of him came to see his leadership role in the community and his involvement with the Liberal Reform Movement, not as a sign of genuine interest in his neighbors, but as a sign that Smyth was out to promote only himself. While they were dependent upon his knowledge and skills to get work done, at the same time they were suspicious of him.

He was more ambitious than most and was different in other ways. For example, he had a good job, he managed to get a building lot for \$500 when others could not, he had traveled and seen more, and in his leadership capacity he often lectured them. Yet, Smyth did make major contributions to the community.

Following the October 1st meeting, a group of teachers attempted to organize a survey of the area. Because their time was limited, they decided to station themselves at the School and invite the residents to be interviewed rather than go from door to door. In all, they completed 48 interviews over a period of a month. To them, however, not enough people had bothered to respond, and they became discouraged with their results. Father Shea and some residents asked curiously when the teachers' questionnaire would be analyzed, but no definite answer was returned, and the questionnaire never was analyzed. One reason for this, apart from dwindling interest in it, was because a few of the teachers were uncertain of their position with Father Shea.

On one occasion, Father Shea had related to the teacher who had headed the survey that the Director of Urban and Rural Planning had been in to see the head of the Roman Catholic School Board. At that time, the teacher was told the Director had referred to him as a "rebel trying to incite the people to riot". This, coupled with the fact that Father Shea had requested the teacher not to make any public statements on his own until the survey was analyzed, led the teacher to believe that Father Shea was subtly telling him to stay away from the whole matter. In actual fact, Father Shea was still awaiting the results. Some residents who had

participated became discouraged and reasoned that the officials had intimidated the teacher. This tied in well with the kind of action they thought had been taken against George Simms of the Department of the Secretary of State, and so the reasoning went that anyone who attempted to do anything on behalf of resident interests was placing himself in jeopardy.

In order to clarify any misunderstandings that may have occurred at the October 1st meeting, the urban renewal authorities endeavored to publish a special newsletter. In it, the officials explained that individual needs would be taken into consideration on the housing issue and tried to explain the delay behind paying compensation and the problems in figuring out land titles. However, there is little indication that the newsletter was widely circulated.

In the meantime, a faculty action group, formed by a group of Memorial University professors and their wives, was getting under way. They formed to consider a wide variety of topics in the news and to act as interested citizens. In October 1969, one of the faculty wives and a social worker for the Head Start Program in Blackhead Road introduced the subject of the community to the group. In particular, one member of the group, a lecturer in the History Department and good friend of Father Shea's, became interested. Already on one prior occasion, Father Shea had invited him up to his Parish to talk over the urban renewal situation. Father Shea's intentions, at that time, were to see if this lecturer, John Noyes, could use some influence to get the University Extension Service involved.

The Faculty Action Group invited Father Shea and others working in the community to one of their meetings. To Noyes, the Faculty Action Group could serve only as resource people to be called upon at a later time since he saw them as well intentioned but likely to let things slip. Noyes then attended a meeting in the community with Father Shea, the Principal of St. John Bosco, and the interested group of teachers. Shortly thereafter, he was to leave for Halifax, and he promised to contact a friend there who was a law professor to see if any legal issues could be worked out. In the back of Noyes' mind, however, was the instigation of some kind of community development program.

On October 7th, the Local Advisory Committee called a meeting at which time it rehashed all of the major problems within the community. At that time, it decided to call a public meeting to get a vote of confidence from the residents. Up to this time, no attempt had been made by the Committee to reach out to the community in a formal capacity. Because it did not seem to have any authority within the Scheme and because it had no official sanctions from the community in order to speak on behalf of the residents, it decided that if a vote of confidence was given it would be able to act as a citizens' committee. At the same time, the Committee considered resigning as the Local Advisory Committee to become solely a citizens' committee. It was hesitant to do this, however, because it worried that it could be replaced and that a rival group appointed by the Government would block its attempts to deal with the officials under the Scheme's plan. After some discussion about problems with the Scheme and after some discontentment was voiced over how the Committee was appointed

in the first place, the Committee was able to convince the few residents who attended the meeting to give it a vote of confidence.

With token backing from the residents recognizing it as an official citizens' group, the Local Advisory Committee called a meeting for November at which time it outlined a number of demands. At that time, it voted to send a letter to the Minister of Municipal Affairs stating that if the questions which the Local Advisory Committee had been asking all along were not answered within a certain period of time, it would go to the newspapers. In addition, at this time the Committee tried to settle on what single major issue it was going to take a hard stand on if a battle arose. No concrete solution was reached, but matters were boiled down to two issues of importance. These were compensation and public housing.

To Father Shea, the main issue to take a stand on was public housing. To Roger Merrick, it was compensation. While they tried to make their points clear, the rest of those present at the meeting sat by idly. To both men, "housing" was the issue, but they differed on their methods of attack. To Father Shea, public housing had to be opposed outright to force the planners to provide a home for a home. To Roger Merrick, if enough compensation was paid, the residents could afford another home and, therefore, would not be forced to accept public housing.

Only one more meeting was ever called by the Local Advisory Committee, and this took place with other members of the Implementation Committee in December. By then, the officials had asked for more time to draw up answers to the Committee's questions, and this extra time was granted. At the December meeting, both the Local Advisory Committee and

the Implementation Committee complained to each other of the problems in communication they faced with all other bodies of the Scheme, but nothing was resolved. Indeed, the Implementation Committee continued to refuse to turn over any of its minutes or other official information to the Local Advisory Committee.

In January of 1970, the Urban Renewal Office saw more administrative changes, and it tried to fill the gap the Local Advisory Committee had left. Each Wednesday, 4:00 o'clock was set aside for a forum at which the Urban Renewal Officer presided. Nineteen residents appeared at the first meeting. The Urban Renewal Officer requested that only general questions about the Scheme be asked. It was made plain that individual problems would be handled at another time between the particular resident and the Urban Renewal Staff. Many of the questions asked pointed to some action which the Urban Renewal Office was not empowered to make. The answers forthcoming were not always definite and, as before, many were quoted from the Final Report. In addition, residents kept bringing up personal problems which were not of great interest to the others present and about which they were asked to speak on at another time. Moreover, the situation was such that the Urban Renewal Officer sympathized with the frustrations being expressed and, hence, in an attempt to maintain control, he was forced to answer a number of questions in his own opinion and off the record. At one point in an attempt to solicit understanding for his position and to restore some faith in the project, he said:

There is a philosophy to all of this that many miss. The way I have interpreted it is that residents up here should be assisted so that they can have better homes to live in.

I've said before that most of Newfoundland can do their own building. Most of the houses up here were built by the residents. The philosophy is not to put 20 or 30 thousand dollar homes up here, but if a person can put up a shell of a house he could finish the rest himself.

With nothing concrete resulting from this meeting, the following week only eight residents showed up. The third meeting saw only four, and soon no one came.

By March, with talk of forming a Householder's Union and with still no answer to its questions, the members of the Local Advisory Committee voted to resign. At about the same time, the Implementation Committee made the same decision. For a while, members of the Co-ordinating Committee and the Department of Urban and Rural Planning refused to admit the non-existence of these Committees, while they attempted to reorganize the administrative working of the Scheme.

Summary

In reviewing the Local Advisory Committee, the most frustrating aspect would appear to be its futility when undertaking projects and its confusion over what role it could effectively play. The Committee, which was given little orientation, was left to succeed or fail on its own. The Committee made little attempt to get out and involve the residents of the area in its activities, to assess resident feelings on matters pertaining to the project, or to demand that some operating funds be placed at their disposal. The Committee operated entirely without money. Most of its efforts were directed toward what it perceived as the solution to problems, the importance of which were rigid according to its own values.

The efforts of the officials who maintained an attitude of benevolence was similarly directed. No expert judgment was used to organize, cooperate with or to orient the Local Advisory Committee whose complaints were often viewed as overexaggerated.

The result was that the Local Advisory Committee came to act, for the most part, in a vacuum. The attitude of the residents at large was also futile. They neither showed a great deal of interest in collective problems, or, as indicated before, they did not see collective action as the solution to their individual problems. In the end, everyone was poorly informed about the project, and they acted independently. Lack of any form of organized resident participation and the secrecy under which urban renewal policy was formulated hurt the project tremendously. What little resident participation did emerge came as the result of efforts put forth by non-residents such as the teachers, Roger Merrick, and Father Shea. Only one leader with any dynamics emerged from among the residents. This was Tom Smyth, and, as was seen earlier, he was viewed with suspicion by many of his peers.

EPILOGUE

After January 1970, I brought to a close my formal research. In February, I began taking only a few notes of major events which might prove relevant as I concluded my thesis. For the month of February, then, I did little else but review notes and write. By the end of the month, however, John Noyes, who had returned from his trip to Halifax, approached me with the idea of helping organize a community development program in the area. He was not the first to approach me with a suggestion for "community organizing". However, in the past, these ideas had been suggested as a step to bring about a confrontation between the people and the Provincial leaders. Noyes' idea, however, was to pick a constructive project upon which a community organization could focus and which might fit into the urban renewal plans. Initially, the idea met with my approval, but I was having second thoughts about it since Blackhead Road was becoming a news item, and I did not want to risk that any activities in which I might become involved would be misconstrued as a source of outside agitation. However, a few families whom I had met while in the community were asking me for advice about their problems in urban renewal. While in the past I had always managed to skirt the issue directly, my conscience was bothering me. After all, they had gone out of their way so that a stranger could learn about their project.

Noyes had had previous experience as a community developer in Europe and was a reputable lecturer at Memorial University with the History Department. With assurance from him that we would not begin by setting out on a deliberate course of confrontation, that our objectives would attempt to look beyond the immediate urban renewal project, and because I did not wish to feel that I had taken complete advantage of those in the community who had helped me, I agreed to give Noyes assistance. He, however, insisted that it be an equal effort. Together, then, we approached the Director of Urban and Rural Planning for his comments.

We embarked upon this program with the feeling that neither of us had enough time to properly pursue it in all of its detail. In a short time (May), Noyes expected to be leaving the Province permanently. At the same time, I was anxious to get the thesis done. Because of the absence of any stable attempts at community development, we decided that we should see if there were not something which we could contribute. By the end of the University semester, both of us had become intensely involved in the area, much beyond that which we expected when we began. Noyes extended his stay in the Province by almost a month, and I was finding myself writing the thesis in only bits and pieces. When Noyes did leave, I carried on without him until August at which time it appeared that some success had been achieved.

The community development process, however, did not end up on Noyes' or my shoulders totally by any means. Invaluable was Roger Merrick who maintained a keen and active interest in the community after the disbanding of the Local Advisory Committee, and who then no longer had any

official responsibility to the Scheme (other than through being a member of the Metropolitan Area Board. However, this position made no serious demands). Also of importance was a local lawyer who agreed to become the legal advisor to the newly formed Householder's Union.

My relationship with Noyes in the beginning was one of advisor and companion. To fulfill this role, I turned over analyzed data on the community as it was completed for the thesis, analyzed data which I did not expect to incorporate into the text, and shared with him my observations. At no time, however, did I make confidential field notes available to him. Noyes acted as spokesman at public meetings and pooled together a number of resources within the University. Chief among these resources were the duplicating facilities of the Memorial University Extension Service.

At a meeting of the Roman Catholic Finance Committee in March 1970, Noyes introduced the idea of forming a community-wide organization to deal with a wide scope of community projects. The residents present wrestled with the idea for a while, noting pessimistically that it had all been tried before and had failed. On the other side of the picture, it was argued that if the Local Advisory Committee would agree to disband, then no unnecessary competition would exist for a new group in the community. It was further argued that there was a need to unite the residents behind a popularly elected front, a need the Local Advisory Committee could not fulfill because membership was by appointment. It was reasoned that if a group could be formed to undertake projects and act as a collective bargaining agent for the community, that the residents would be able to accomplish more than in the past. Before the meeting was out, the men

present agreed to try it once more, and they arrived at the idea of forming a "union". What was to be new about the union was that it was to have elected officials responsible to the people at public meetings. Further, it was to have a constitution outlining its terms of reference.

Time was spent then in organizing a selection committee to pick prospective candidates for office, organizing a meeting for a community-wide election, and finally in drawing up a constitution. With the formation of the Householder's Union, John Noyes, Roger Merrick, the lawyer, and myself spent most of our time in the community working with the Union's executive members.

The Union's first project was to call in someone from the Newfoundland Co-operative Society to introduce the residents to the idea of co-operatives. The speaker, however, was not explanatory enough and many did not understand what they heard. Further, many refused to ask questions publicly and in front of their peers. Here lay a difference with a number of past public meetings about urban renewal. Questions about urban renewal, when asked, were most often questions about a man's rights to his property and about which the people in the community already had very definite ideas. Hence, questions dealt with what an official would do or attempted to point out a situation which the vocal resident felt to be shocking, unfair, or inconsistent. They also revolved around charged issues which rang of deep concern or urgency. On the other hand, to ask a question about the co-operative meant asking a question about which there existed no firm opinions in the community, which lacked a sense of urgency, and required a more academic explanation concerning what action

a resident could take rather than pinpointing what someone else (such as an official) could do. It is doubtful that the residents often understood the explanations offered them publicly by the urban renewal leaders, let alone the representative from the Newfoundland Co-operative. In fact, it took a good deal of time before certain of the residents acquired enough confidence to ask such questions as, "What do you mean by that", or "Is my understanding of what you have said correct?" Hence, while residents were vocal at urban renewal public meetings, the nature of the questions put the burden of response on the guest speakers. At the co-operative meeting, questions of clarification were needed which would have placed the burden of response on the question asker.

Urban renewal was of the greatest interest to the residents because of its very direct influence on everyone's daily life. While an attempt was made to introduce other subject areas of activity in conjunction with urban renewal, the subject of urban renewal dominated everything else. In comparison, then, other subject areas such as co-operatives lacked any urgency and hence lacked any immediate relevancy to their situation. A major cause for this was the way in which urban renewal was handled. Groups of residents, much less the Householder's Union executive, were not opposed to being introduced to new ideas on how to handle their situations. However, the problem was that no sooner were their interests gained on a new subject than a crisis would develop with the urban renewal project which would demand their full and immediate attention. Examples would include someone's house being damaged in blasting, new scares that public housing construction would start soon, or new developments in fighting for Union recognition.

Union recognition as the bargaining agent for the people did not come with the asking. The Director of Urban and Rural Planning, for example, was quick to make clear that the voluntary dissolution of the Local Advisory Committee was not recognized. Further, it was clear that the officials were not prepared to grant any of the Union's demands. As a result, in place of progressive action, all of the Union's time was initially taken up trying to win certain fundamental prerequisites necessary to its existence before it could be in a position to actually do anything. In addition to this, the Union had a lot of other groundwork to cover. First, it had to learn how to function procedurally. Second, the Union executive had to develop confidence in order to go after basic information about the project. Third, it needed to learn what the urban renewal project was all about. Fourth, it had to try and learn how to deal with what it learned. A decided handicap was that it had had such a late start in the program.

Almost immediately (May 16th) after its formation, the Union and the entire community were hit with a tragedy -- the death of Father Shea. He had been planning a temporary leave of absence to go to a hospital out of the City for special care due to a poor heart condition. Following this, he planned to enroll in some courses in sociology. At the airport, while picking up his tickets, he suffered a heart attack. The whole community was thrown into a solemn period of mourning. For a time, then, they found themselves unable to deal with urban renewal or to think of anything other than the loss of Father Shea. The period following his death was met with some disorientation as the residents tried to organize

without him. His memory, however, led, for the moment, to a feeling of unification throughout the area. Almost immediately, Tom Smyth independent from the Union began a residents group to raise money for a community center in honor of the deceased priest. At the same time, the Union returned to its fight more determined to carry out what Father Shea had started.

With urban renewal now the dominant reason for organizing, one of the early tasks of the Union became to get representation at the Friday urban renewal staff meetings. With the dissolution of the Implementation Committee, these Friday meetings were responsible for carrying out the project. Next, the Union demanded copies of all the plans and agreements with the construction companies, the Provincial Government, the Metropolitan Area Board, and the Federal Government. Most of these requests were met after some weeks of frustrating activity.

Getting the promises for the above items was easy. All one had to do was direct a plea to the Minister of Municipal Affairs, Eric Dawe, who in December 1969 became John Nolan's successor after a Provincial Cabinet shuffle. Getting one's hands on the requested documents, however, was a different matter. These signs of poor faith on the part of the officials led, in part, to a series of confrontations over the bargaining table.¹ Some of these problems, it appeared, existed because of differences of

¹Such confrontations would include threats that the residents might close the project down or that some residents acting beyond the Union's restraint might take matters into their own hands and do possible damage to construction equipment. By and large, these threats were deliberate bluffs, since in the very beginning the Union was in no position to organize any protests.

opinion between the officials. These were problems which they had not been immediately prepared to face. In any event, they would have to be worked out behind closed doors away from Union view.

One of the more striking splits to occur in full view of an audience of residents was between the Minister of Municipal Affairs and the Director of Urban and Rural Planning. On all occasions, the Minister appeared anxious to recognize the Union with the idea that it could form the base upon which a local government could be founded. The Director of Urban and Rural Planning was clearly against local autonomy. In a very concrete way, this raised the question of who was to be the local government for the area when the project was through. Prior to this, the Local Advisory Committee had been aware of the alternatives of either joining St. John's or becoming independent, but almost no thought had been given to it. It was, in fact, taken for granted that the area would probably join St. John's.

The recommendations of two planning firms concerning the future status of the community were reviewed in previous chapters. Each recommended some form of annexation even while it was recognized that local government could provide the people of the area with the most direct means of dealing with their problems. To become a part of the City the City Council would require a representative from the area to negotiate his position. With local government, the people would be free to exercise control over their own taxes, police protection, and they would be free to negotiate for the annexation to their community of a portion of the tank farms outside the City limits for revenue.

However, as a separate township, the community would still remain heavily dependent upon St. John's for jobs and services. This raises a question of the feasibility of local government to deal with such matters as daily water supply, sewage problems, and transportation. If Blackhead Road becomes independent, will not other small areas surrounding the City strive to follow the precedent? If Blackhead Road and other areas do become independent, what would be the over-all effect on the metropolitan area? While the need to spend more time on local problems in metropolitan areas is great, many writers do not see local autonomy as the solution. A review of the literature indicates the feeling that today there is an urban crisis which is aggravated from having too many seats of power. As a consequence, the wealth of a metropolitan area is not evenly distributed. As one example, says Bahl:

Empirical studies have shown with some consistency that per capita spending in (or by) the core city is more closely related to the size of the 'contract' population (the sum of residents and non residents using core city facilities) than to the number of people living within the city's jurisdictional limits (1970:87).

In addition, other authors argue against local autonomy on the grounds that local governments tend to see success and failure in terms of narrowly selfish concerns. Various means of remedying such fragmentation have been proposed, but these remedies have largely arisen in response to an already overwhelming situation. In the United States, for example, where such programs have been proposed in the 230 statistically defined metropolitan areas, there are more than 20,000 units of local government which must be bargained with (Grant, 1970:61). This is not a problem

currently shared by St. John's and is one that could be avoided through annexation of surrounding areas. However, sudden annexation could prove callous. The question then seems to become one of devising a "method" for annexation.

During the spring of 1970, a number of public meetings were arranged between the Householder's Union and the officials. Most of these meetings were very well attended. At last, much of the information that people claimed they were not getting was coming forth and being recorded. These meetings then provided a permanent record to point out any inconsistencies which might occur in the future. They also served to dispell rumors and to distinguish fact from fears. As the information flowed, the residents became more demanding for specific details.

Resident -- If a woman has a house and doesn't own the land what would she get paid for?

Director of Urban and Rural Planning (D.U.R.P.) --
She'll get paid for the house, you never get paid for the land.²

Resident -- Yet Mr. _____ and Mr. _____ wouldn't let me see the appraiser's report. When I checked with the appraiser I learned that Mr. _____ had lowered the price \$600.

D.U.R.P. -- You should have been allowed to see it.

Resident -- Yet the appraiser didn't even see the land; he appraised it in his office, it being a Friday and the land being needed on Monday.

D.U.R.P. -- That was an emergency situation, yet he would still have had to support his appraisal in court (Transcript, Public Meeting, May 21, 1970:22).

²This is contrary to the Final Report as discussed in Chapters V and VI.

The above individual problem was only an inkling of what was in store. On May 21st the Director of Urban and Rural Planning announced that pipe connections from the main line to homes would not be carried out by the Scheme as planned and that each individual home owner would have to bear the cost. The residents' deepest fears were confirmed and the credibility of the officials damaged. The difficulty behind making the house connections lay in the interpretation of what was meant in the agreements by "installation of services". Project Planning Associates had included cost estimates for house connections in their engineering design which had been approved in principle by CMHC. The Province and the local branch of CMHC included this, then, within their interpretation of installation of services and this item was promised to the people. However, tenders to install house connections had not been called at the start of the project, and the undefined term slipped by in the agreement between the Province, the Metropolitan Area Board, and CMHC. When the urban renewal scheme made its move to call tenders in early 1970, CMHC in Ottawa objected, but did agree to bring laterals up to within three feet of homes and to make connections if the owner already had pipes which extended from his house that far. In addition, they agreed to repair any damaged pipes. One resident at the May 21st public meeting asked a number of questions:

Resident -- The problems up here are misunderstanding of verbal agreements. My house and land were bought cheap because I was promised free water and sewage but it was never in the Scheme, was it Mr. (Director of Urban and Rural Planning)? So, if the sewage systems are not damaged or if you've never had one what are you going to do about sewage then? Leave

those people that didn't have this kind of system with their old septic tanks or with the night-soil truck? (Ibid.:12).

Resident -- What about people who had wells ruined by the blasting and the other effects of urban renewal, but who didn't have pipes? (Ibid.:19).

D.U.R.P. -- Well, if they didn't have pipes we can't give them a hook-up.

Resident -- So, if there are no pipes there is no hook-up?

D.U.R.P. -- Yes.

This posed a large problem since without the promised hook-ups, more people would be without drinking water than were without it before urban renewal began. Realizing the seriousness of the situation, the Province turned to another source for possible funds. They turned to the Canada Assistance Plan, but after at least four months of negotiations, nothing new was heard.

In addition to the above, at the May 21st meeting the Director of Urban and Rural Planning placed a question mark on upgrading of homes. He noted that CMHC has never accepted any responsibility on the matter and related:

The urban renewal scheme does not provide funds or loans to residents to upgrade their existing homes in any way....
(Blackhead Road Urban Renewal Scheme: Questions arising at a Public Meeting 18 April, 1970:9).

In addition, he announced that the head office of CMHC in Ottawa had rejected the plan to sell any lots according to the zoning system outlined in the Final Report and that they also refused to allow any lots in the area to be sold as minimum cost lots or below market value. He then announced that a proposal was going to be submitted to CMHC

reappraising all of the lots. He estimated that under this system there might be about 48 lots available for \$600 and 17 lots available for between \$600 and \$1,000. Dismay over the loss of the original promise for \$500 lots resulted. Further, the Union executive questioned among themselves whether Ottawa would agree to a market value established by the Province and which conformed so closely with the original plan. It looked to them unlikely. In addition, the Union queried the two lots in the Scheme which had already been sold. How could two residents have been allowed to buy lots if none had been officially put up for sale? At a meeting with the Union executive, one CMHC executive refused to officially admit that any sales had taken place. Privately, he admitted that the two sales posed a problem about which no one was certain of the solution.

The discussion, up to now, has dwelt on the relationship with the residents, the urban renewal scheme, and the Province. At this point in time, however, the role of the Federal Government became important to the Union. As a result of the announcements made by the Director of Urban and Rural Planning, the people became aware that the Province was not alone in deciding their fate. The problem, then, became how to involve CMHC in Union affairs. Hence, there was resentment against the Province for the manner in which the Scheme had been carried out, but there was also sympathy for the Province over their dealings with CMHC.

On one occasion, a representative from the local branch of CMHC explained to the Union executive, quite matter of factly, that CMHC's only role was that of a lending institution. But, at this point, no one was willing to accept that. It was too removed from the situation. Someone

in Ottawa, it appeared, had strung everyone along and then smashed all of their dreams at a point when it was too late to turn back. The Union, therefore, wanted to gain a negotiating position not only with the Province, but also with CMHC. Theoretically, the residents were in a negotiating position with both the Province and CMHC through the Co-ordination Committee since representation was provided on it for the Metropolitan Area Board. In practice, however, the residents were not in a negotiating position because the Metropolitan Area Board was not set up properly to fully represent their interests. Further, realizing that CMHC in Ottawa appeared to have the power to overrule local plans dependent upon its financing, the Union wanted some access to Ottawa. This access was not forthcoming. Moreover, the local branch of CMHC was not empowered to deal directly with the Union and refused to discuss the details of the project before a general meeting. Their position was that they were only a lending institution not at liberty to discuss any financial agreements made with the Province and that policy did not allow them to meddle in local affairs. Yet, because CMHC money was used and because it appeared that they had such sweeping powers to lay down policy, they had a very strong influence on local affairs. By not confronting the situation, the problems in the community festered as everyone groped uneasily looking for alternatives. At the suggestion of Roger Merrick, the Union began requesting a Federal investigation be made into the whole matter.

Not long after the May 21st meeting, a blast was set off on Blackhead Road showering the nearby homes with rocks and pebbles. When I went up to the community that night, I was surprised to find that the Union

had made no plans to complain. The matter had been treated lightly and no one seemed to know what could be done about it, if anything. Then, on the following day (May 27th) an accidental blast went off on the Valley Road nearly demolishing three homes completely. One local newspaper estimated that a boulder found in one man's living room weighed as much as 600 pounds. In the process, a 3,000 lb. blasting mat had been blown 60 feet. The Union was convinced that the incident had occurred through negligence but agreed to accept the report of an independent appraiser who concluded that it was an accident. As a consequence, the Union demanded and got the services of an independent engineer to supervise all future blasting. When another house was nearly demolished by a blast in July, and it was learned that a decision had been made without their knowledge to have the independent engineer conduct only spot checks, the Union decided that it was time to wire Ottawa. Partly as a result of this, the Federal Government agreed to send a delegation to the Province in August. The meeting with this delegation ended on a high note, and it sounded as if some action would take place. I, therefore, ended my activities.

Throughout the time I was acting with John Noyes, he had interested various people and departments at Memorial University in the project. Among them was a professor in the Engineering Department who came up to the community to look over the main pipes being laid in open trenches. Some of the men questioned the way the work was being supervised. They noticed, for example, that the main water pipe (to carry drinking water) was being laid several feet above the main sewer pipe instead of off to

the side as they thought it should be done. Fears quickly spread that if a leak occurred in the sewer and the water pipe, it would cause a health problem. Because many residents did not trust the words of those involved with the Scheme, someone from the outside was necessary to dispel fears. It was explained that sufficient pressure would be built up in the water pipes to prevent any possible seepage of sewage disposal into them. This claim was later supported by the Scheme officials at a public meeting.

Because the Union had no funds at its disposal, Noyes managed to acquire the use of duplicating equipment at Memorial University's Extension Service to copy plans of the Scheme and to copy transcripts of meetings. Because the Extension Service was not officially committed to the community, when Noyes left they withdrew their services. Filling the gap was Memorial University's Student Union which made an official commitment to become involved in the area.

In addition to these two University organizations, the National Film Board of Canada also became interested in the area through the recommendations of the local branch of the Secretary of State. The National Film Board was interested in experimenting with community-wide uses for video tape recordings (V.T.R.). Hence, they offered to make V.T.R. equipment available to the Union. V.T.R. equipment, however, did not interest the Union for a variety of reasons. To begin, the Union executives had seen films produced as an experimental project several years ago which were made at Fogo Island, Newfoundland. They worried that those things which, in their opinion, were wrong with the Fogo films would turn out

to be true for any V.T.R. experiment. The Fogo Island project involved taking film of people in their daily life. Except for editing, which was necessary to cut down on the bulk of film taken, these films were left virtually untouched and serve as raw data observation. While they were of some novel interest to the public, they were of more technical interest to anthropologists. Because these films were eventually shown to public audiences, the Union felt that as a consequence Fogo Island was being made a spectacle. In spite of the fact that the permission of the residents of Fogo was obtained before any film was allowed to be shown, the Union felt that what the residents of Fogo took to be natural, and therefore allowed to be shown, was causing the place to be ridiculed by outsiders who did not understand the simplified way of life. Hence, even though the National Film Board offered to put in writing to the Union of Blackhead Road that no V.T.R. would be shown at any time without the Union's permission, they turned the offer down. In turning the offer down, they expressed doubt about their own ability to judge what aspects of their community life should be viewed.

While there are more uses in a community for V.T.R. than making tapes to be viewed by professionally specialized audiences, the Union continued to reject the idea. For one thing, no one in the Union had the time to devote to taking pictures and editing tape. The National Film Board had wanted the residents to learn these skills rather than sending in an expert to do it for them. As in the case of the co-operatives, the Union did not see the immediate relevancy of V.T.R. to their problems. Urban renewal was making too many demands for a Union member to spend a

great deal of time on anything that could not promise some immediate results. Indeed, by the summer of 1970, the task of being a Union executive member had become as demanding as a full-time job, with the men sacrificing pay at their places of employment in order to devote time to the Union. Their tasks consisted of strategy meetings among themselves, attending meetings with the officials, preparation of a poverty brief, conducting surveys in the community, and publishing a small newsletter.³

This points to the need citizen groups have for funds to be used to hire staff and to put out publications. In addition, there is the need for such groups to be made aware of the resources upon which they may draw to get advice from outside sources. Such expert advice can help dispel rumors and clear up misunderstandings.

The Union itself saw the need for outside help, but they did not conceptualize it in the same way as outlined above. They felt they most needed someone who could go from door to door and categorize individual problems. This was a time-consuming activity which appeared overwhelming but which they felt would yield the most immediate results within the community. A generalist community development worker was not seen by them as a primary need. Further, they came to see their role as reactors rather than initiators. They argued, for example, that it was Government's responsibility to provide them with a set of plans which they could accept or reject rather than being the ones to provide Government with ideas before the plans were drawn up. It annoyed the Union that local

³The Blackhead Road brief on poverty was presented to the Senate Committee on Poverty July 6, 1970.

planners were unwilling or unable to produce creative alternatives to their problems. As an example of the kind of thinking they wanted to come out of Government, they pointed to a project being planned for Winnipeg's Roosevelt Park area which would establish \$1,000,000 in equity in a resident-owned corporation with shares distributed on the basis of ownership and development rights. To the Union, the attempts made by the planners to be creative in the Final Report and to create what most thought would become a model community in Canada was failing miserably. To the Union, the community had made all of the sacrifices and would get little in return. For almost two years, they had lived on a construction site and watched their neighbors get displaced while new roads were put through and serviced lots made available for outsiders to buy.

From the above, it may be said that, aside from administrative difficulties encountered in the Scheme, discontent occurred chiefly for two reasons. The first was caused by the confusion which can easily result over the National Housing Act. The Provincial planners attempted to draw up a plan which is called for in Section 23 and was cited in full in Chapter IV. However, Section 23B does not call for the Federal Government to share the cost in all of the items which must be presented in a plan. Most notably exempt are those items in the plan which would direct expenditures into privately-owned dwelling units. As the planners found, the National Housing Act was prepared only to provide public works. Hence, under the Act, the only kind of plan that could be fully carried out with CMHC help would appear to be a demolition-relocation or clearance type project. Second, the local officials were unprepared to utilize

local organization to the fullest. The Final Report was a plan whereby local participation was to be passive rather than aggressively involved. Local representatives were expected to provide support for the plan and an intelligence network for the planners. Further, no attempt was made to involve the citizens until the construction was under way.

Rossi and Dentler, in their study of resident participation in Hyde Park, conclude that citizen participation can do little else but be passive (1963:287). The experience in Blackhead Road would seem, at first, to bear this out. By themselves, the Local Advisory Committee and the Householder's Union did not have the skills to make numerous technical and legal counter proposals. Further, they did not have the training to understand contracts or to make sense of other technicalities. Hence, as a result of being left completely on their own, they became suspicious and discontented. Much of this could have been avoided if the planners had been prepared to include these groups more fully in their own activities. The Local Advisory Committee and other citizens' groups discussed saw the project being altered from the promises made to them and from what they had before them in writing in the Final Report. They, therefore, had no sense of control and they became fearful. In place of a meaningful role where their ideas were listened to and considered, they found themselves forced to lay blame. Acknowledging their own handicaps in understanding plans and contracts, they came to see themselves as reactors rather than contributors. Taken to its extreme, this leads to militancy.

The alternative to planners, then, is to include resident groups every step of the way. With outside help and with resources laid at their disposal, resident groups can take more than a passive or reactive role. The process of resident organization, however, should take place long in advance of the implementation of any project. In their study of Hyde Park, Rossi and Dentler make explicit:

Note that we do not say that urban renewal cannot be accomplished without citizen participation...., but only that the process will be fraught with conflict and difficult to achieve (Ibid.:282).

Further, while the process of citizen participation may be time consuming and drawn out, in the long run, in rehabilitation type urban renewal, it appears to be the least troublesome means.

Meaningful citizen participation should be looked upon as an educational process which should be co-ordinated with a sound community development program. Physical as well as social upgrading should be taken into consideration and be part-and-parcel of the same program. Without such a program, urban renewal lies exposed to unwanted influences. This would include untrained people with a social conscience, organizers with a degree of militancy and an "axe to grind", and outside organizations which may be called in as the poor realize more and more that they need help. At this point, the only course open to local residents may be direct confrontation with planners and politicians who have become obsessed with their own benevolence and who may have gone so far with their plans that any major reorientation is costly.

CONCLUSIONS

Blackhead Road is a small homogeneous community which today is made up to a great extent by extended family kinship ties. Its existence is founded on escape from rising costs and taxes, as well as based on a firm desire to own homes. For the past forty years, the community has been building its own way of life apart from St. John's. Three of the most obvious ways in which it has been doing this is through the emergence of its folklore, through the means by which friends and relatives have acquired land on which to live, and through the efforts of the churches to provide schools and community organizations. But the fast growing city of St. John's and the marked progressiveness of the Province in the fields of health, welfare, education, and in the provision of basic services (e.g., telephones and electricity) have also left their marks. Until urban renewal came, Blackhead Road was in a state of "gradual" transition which would have eventually led to its being completely submerged within the City framework.

In determining the nature of this transition, it has been convenient to look at Blackhead Road as a rural outpost near the big city. Exact rural-urban indicators, however, are hard to establish and may, in fact, vary from one place to another. Says Mann, after considering quantitative differences between urban and rural areas, there are differences,

....but never so great as to make rural and urban like different faces of a coin; rather there were shades of differences of a common pattern.

The importance of the sort of town that one was dealing with became much more important than size of population (1965:65).

Mann illustrates this by noting that an agriculturally dominant economy, which is often considered a good indicator of rural-urban differences, may not always be a good indicator. He found, for example, that in England more men per 1,000 were employed in metal manufacturing throughout three of five statistically defined rural areas than were employed in agriculture (Ibid.:34). He further notes, however, that in other countries with a different climate and larger land areas that primary based occupations may well serve as an important contrast.

An examination of a few of Mann's propositions may be helpful in determining what "sort" of community Blackhead Road is. To begin, Mann postulates that proportionately more women are in urban areas than in rural areas. In Blackhead Road, males are outnumbered by females following the urban trend. Next, Mann postulates that urban areas are more apt to be overrepresented by people in the 25-46 year old age bracket because a large number of these people migrate annually from rural areas to the city in search of opportunities. In addition, he postulates that urban areas will show both a lack of the very young and the elderly. As can be seen from the data presented in Chapter II, Blackhead Road does not follow this exact trend (see Table 5, page 52. It includes the age distribution of those in the sample, plus those living in their households. Total = 287). The area is marked most heavily by youth which

follows the rural ideal. At the same time, about 30 per cent of the people in the sample and those living in their households are between the ages of 27 and 62. Moreover, those 63 and over account for only about five per cent of the sample which indicates a lack of the elderly and is consistent with the urban trend. On the basis of this indicator then, Blackhead Road does not fit squarely into either category.

With regard to occupation, Blackhead Road has never been predominantly made up of those engaged in primary occupations. The predominance of primary occupations is a good indicator of rural-urban differences in Newfoundland where the fishing village is emulated as the ideal of rural existence and where there are vast tracts of land separating the cities from the villages. Hence, in terms of occupation, Blackhead Road follows the urban trend.

Educationally, postulates Mann, urban areas will be marked by better facilities. In Blackhead Road, poor educational facilities existed until 1968 when, largely through the efforts of Father Shea, the trend began to reverse. Today, the community is marked as having some of the best educational facilities in the St. John's area for Roman Catholic children. Here, then, lies an excellent example of the transition facing the community.

Another indicator, which Mann postulates, is that urban areas will have a greater number of foreign-born children than rural ones. Here, Blackhead Road definitely follows the rural trend.

These propositions, notes Mann, could continue on almost indefinitely. However, the sample of them above demonstrates clearly that Blackhead

Road does not fit easily into either a rural or urban classification. Qualitatively, some authors have argued that the way of life in an area marks the difference between being rural or urban. However, here again Blackhead Road has been living in two worlds. The first demanded constant contacts with the outside through its utter dependence upon the City and the Province for jobs, a good portion of its educational facilities, and all of its health facilities. Hence, the story of Blackhead Road is intimately a product of what was happening outside the community. The living standards in Blackhead Road rose when the Dominion joined Canada as a province and old age pensions and family allowances became available. The conditions in the area also improved as new scientific knowledge was acquired and was distributed by the Provincial Department of Health. Moreover, medical attention was made more available throughout the Province with the introduction of Medicare (M.C.P.). These items were among the things which drew Blackhead Road into the urban world.

The second world the community was living in was that of rural isolation facilitated by the community's physical boundaries. It was a place where every neighbor knew every other neighbor, where there was a high degree of primary relationships, and where social mobility was low. Hence, because Blackhead Road is near an urban center upon which it is heavily dependent and because the area has remained socially isolate, we find the reasons for the difficulty in describing the area as being "just like an outpost" in Chapter II. Sooner or later the community would have had to join the mainstream of metropolitan life which it was moving toward.

The issue now becomes, in what form would the embracement of metropolitan ways take shape? It is here that urban renewal becomes important, for it greatly accelerated the transition in the community which initially was only gradual. It proposed to open up the area to immediate development, and the shape of this development altered as the project ran into stumbling blocks. Originally, the idea of development had centered around bringing improvements to the people of an area that presented a potential health problem. Urban renewal was to leave the community in one piece, uplift the living standard of the people living there, and provide new space for the City to expand residentially to the south. The big selling points to the community were the direct installation of water and sewage facilities into their homes, new roads, and, for some, a home for a home.

During the time of this study, the project was unexpectedly unable to provide water and sewage facilities into all of the homes and was unable to provide a home for a home. The installation of paved roads was its major success, leaving the development of new serviced lots for non-resident buyers as the last remaining item of major importance which could be achieved (no one, however, seems to have given much thought to what will happen if these lots do not sell). On the face of it, then, the urban development of Blackhead Road was chaotic, and the residents of the area stood to gain little in return for all of their inconveniences.

Since the urban renewal project is not yet completed, to predict what will happen to the people of the community is, in many ways, highly speculative. Dramatic changes could occur which would bring the project back into line with some of its original goals. Successful negotiation

over the Canada Assistance Plan or new and creative proposals from CMHC could radically affect the present situation.¹ However, should all things remain as they are now, certain future happenings are plausible.

Firstly, we may consider social barriers. Deeper rifts than already exist may develop between the eastern and western sectors of the community with the placement of the new access road. To begin, the road itself may come to serve as a physical boundary which will facilitate the identification of one side of the community from the other. In addition, most outsiders can be expected to desire land looking over the City and which is as remote as possible from small shacks that could lower future property values. Most of this choice land lies to the east of the new access road. In being able to afford this land, while the local residents cannot, these outsiders are apt to be viewed as intruders. Moreover, as newcomers build homes throughout the community, there is likely to occur social differences between the "uppers" who will build a comfortable living room and install a toilet and the "lowers" who will continue to entertain in the kitchen and who must still rely on the river, the night-soil truck, or manholes in the street for sewage disposal.

Secondly, we may consider some aspects about the newcomers who will move to the area. The community will most likely develop into a fairly affluent subdivision over time. Some houses may be expected to cost \$18,000 or more to build (this is based on the reported sum of what it cost to build one new house already constructed). Eventually, newcomers

¹It should be noted that currently the officials, through the Department of Urban and Rural Planning, are doing what they can to locate funds so that basic services will be installed into every home.

will probably outnumber the present residents. Hence, they may take over the affairs of the community, reflecting a new set of values toward such items as increased taxation. One reason why newcomers may eventually outnumber the locals is because, with the controlled lot sizes introduced through urban renewal, the old practice of a son building on his father's land is ended. This will force many of the children of present residents out of the community altogether or force them into public housing, for it is doubtful that many of them will be able to afford the land should any be left. In one way, then, urban renewal may transform the community and wrest it from the hands of those people it originally set out to help. Moreover, while there might be some home owners who may decide to move because they are disillusioned with the changes, the brunt of relocating somewhere else will fall most heavily on the recent flock of high school dropouts and non-home-owning children who will join the ranks of the unemployed. As a result of this, the area will experience the deployment of extended family kinship ties to places outside the community. In addition, as the community develops, and should Cape Spear become a tourist attraction, newcomers may attempt to buy out the original residents.

Thirdly, we may consider the effects of the community's size. As the area's population size increases, it will likely become more difficult for all families to know the histories of all other families. This may cause judgments of one's neighbors to be based on outward signs such as material goods. While primary relationships may be expected to remain strong among the locals, the increase of new neighbors will introduce a

wide range of secondary relationships. Hence, with an increase in new neighbors, there is also apt to come more narrowly defined outlets for contact.

Fourthly, with the introduction of paved roads into the community, the residents may be expected to find better access to taxi cabs and services which may be required to make calls in the area. In addition, improved roads open up the possibility of initiating public transportation which will make downtown shopping more convenient and make jobs in St. John's more accessible.

Fifthly, we may consider public housing. Such housing may greatly help relieve poor states of condition for elderly residents and some renters in the community. However, because of the long and hard fight for home ownership by local residents, such housing is apt to be marked with a status difference. Moreover, should outsiders be allowed to enter swiftly and in large numbers, this could complicate the picture as subgroups of residents would probably form. As an indication that this is possible, Morris and Mogey, in their study of an English housing estate built on the approximate site of an existing community, noted that they found that the locals cast the newcomers "....firmly in the role of unwelcome outsiders" (1965:75). These attitudes, however, may or may not persist due to such things as the values and aspirations held by the families involved. This, however, is a discussion beyond the scope of the present study.

The above constitutes a sample of the possible social changes which may take place in the Blackhead Road community upon the completion of

this urban renewal project. The effect of urban renewal, then, on the people is of questionable benefit at this time.²

If one chooses, however, to look at this urban renewal project purely as the development of a physical area, then the effects of urban renewal may be less complicated than the possible social alternatives presented above. To begin, a whole new area for lower-middle and middle-class housing has been opened up close to the downtown shopping areas of the City which, in recent times, have been losing business to large shopping malls near the City's fringes. Next, a certain amount of recovery money for the project results from the sale of new lots in addition to other fringe benefits for Government which were not included in the cost estimates of the planner's report. This would include taxes placed on building materials from private home owners and the interest rates on mortgages from CMHC.

From the above, then, the end result of this urban renewal project will not differ greatly from past urban renewal projects where physical

²Since the influx of new residents to the community is a necessary condition for the full development of the area, some suggestions are perhaps in order. First, controlled lot sizes should not rigidly apply to the existing residents. Those who own more land should be allowed to keep a sizable portion of it. As relatives build on this land or as it is sold to newcomers, more of a transition will take place rather than an abrupt change. Second, those home owners and renters whose homes were demolished should be given for free their first choice of any lot in the Scheme before outsiders have a chance to buy. Third, individual units of semi-detached housing should be sprinkled across the community rather than being built in block sections. Fourth, a land rush to the area should be avoided, and serviced lots should be sold gradually over a period of perhaps two or more years to allow for a more gradual process of assimilation. Fifth, local business should be allowed special incentives to relocate in the new proposed shopping areas.

considerations have gained priority over social ones. It appears increasingly obvious that if the indigenous in their present state are to be helped, an enormous cash commitment is necessary in a project which has no other motives but to raise the private living standards of those in a given community. In order to accomplish this then, urban renewal must offer specific benefits or incentives to the people living in the area to be renewed. In Blackhead Road, this could take the form of allowing the displaced their choice of any lot in the Scheme upon which to rebuild. This should be done without charge since it is doubtful that most of these people can afford to pay anything. This should be done even if the Scheme were to lose a certain portion of its cost recoveries. Further, in order to raise the living standard of local residents and in order to successfully introduce social benefits together with the physical ones which urban renewal has to offer, serious changes must be introduced into the National Housing Act. Yet, before this can effectively be done, a reappraisal of fundamental values is needed. In past chapters moral contingencies have been an issue. Some of these were ones which, at times, appeared to rise in importance over arguments based on costs. In assessing the situation, one of the most basic questions that can be asked is, what is the "public interest"? Low-income groups

....are not concerned with such matters as improving the municipal tax base or bringing middle-income suburbanites back to the central city (Davis, 1966:210).

Citizen participation prior to the actual implementation of a project, however, can be used as a key to find out what does entice this segment of the public interest. On this point, Rossi and Dentler have elaborated.

They say:

The first lesson to be learned is that citizen participation provides a means of establishing what is the public interest that must be served by urban renewal (1963:281).

Furthermore, by creating a wide gulf between the aims of renewal and the interest of citizens, it is likely that such renewal programs will radically transform the neighborhood composition, leading to ironic results in which a renewed neighborhood may have lost the population for which it was being renewed (Ibid.:282).

Up to now, the discussion has focused on rehabilitation type urban renewal projects like the one carried out in Blackhead Road. However, a distinction should be kept in mind between rehabilitation type urban renewal projects and demolition-relocation or clearance type projects. In the first instance, emphasis is placed on some form of transformation to effect the people living in an area. Here, resident participation is indispensable. In the second instance, however, the object may not be this. Instead, it may be the improvement of the municipal tax base by tearing down a slum and reconstructing middle-income housing. Hence, Kaplan found that in demolition-relocation projects, citizen participation was best done without since it often proved disastrous to a smooth plan (1966:164). Here, the sheltering of negotiations behind closed doors and the swiftness with which the planners can move to complete a project are of paramount importance.

Two things, then, emerge as important when considering resident participation. The first lies in determining what type of project is best suited to an area and then proceeding to plan strategy from there. Second, if a rehabilitation type project is decided upon, then from the very start

some co-ordination is needed between the viewpoints of the planners and the viewpoints of the residents. Initially, the plan for Blackhead Road appeared to have taken much of this into consideration. On the one hand, there were the benefits to the central business district of St. John's to consider as a new subdivision was opened up nearby. On the other hand, the local residents would gain their much desired water and sewage facilities along with paved roads. In the beginning, it was these promises that won so much favor for the project throughout the community.

However, problems developed administratively, and the officials appeared to maintain a reserved attitude toward both the Local Improvement Committee and its successor, the Local Advisory Committee. The subordination of these groups in discussions of priorities or in discussions about the daily progress of the Scheme led to a minimum of resident involvement. Again, to cite Rossie and Dentler, who studied a rehabilitation type project:

Low initial participation in South West Hyde Park contributed poignantly to misunderstanding, conflict and long delay in execution of renewal (1963:227).

While the Blackhead Road project certainly began as a vision to uplift the people living in the community and began with an eye toward social benefits, the project was ill-equipped to do much beyond the physical or to co-ordinate and take advantage of unanticipated enthusiasm. This was the first experience the Province had had with this type of urban renewal, and in their exuberance to make it a success they tried to do too much with too few resources. Significantly and unintentionally, the urban renewal project attracted to the area a medical clinic, a Head

Start Program, and the attention of various other groups interested in instigating community development (e.g., Memorial University's Student Union, the local branch of the Department of the Secretary of State, Citizenship Branch, Memorial University's Newman Club, the National Film Board of Canada, and the Memorial University Extension Service). Moreover, it stimulated the interest of residents in improving their own conditions above and beyond the immediate urban renewal process. The activities of the Local Improvement Committee and the Local Advisory Committee stand as evidence of this.

As was initially recognized by the urban renewal planners, a social program was needed as part and parcel of an urban renewal project of this nature. Installation of water and sewage facilities was not enough. While it would help solve the immediate health problem and help alleviate some of the individual squalor, these physical benefits did not attack the roots of poverty which lay in inadequate education, skills, and the lack of ability or resources to deal with outside agencies. Hence, even should the physical benefits be provided, there was always the danger that poor human and social conditions would persist. The basic problem was that the Scheme lacked both the personnel and direction to carry out these objectives. The officials began by planning for a single community development worker (to function as an organizer and co-ordinator), but the pressing demands of the people drew the community developer into social work. This serves as an excellent example of the dire need for such workers in depressed areas and in future urban renewal projects. However, even without an elaborate program of community development

incorporated into the framework of the project during this study, at least five major groups composed of people within Memorial University alone volunteered free assistance and took aggressive action to provide it. Yet, no attempt was made to co-ordinate or encourage these efforts by the urban renewal scheme and it appears doubtful that even the University Administration had any idea of what was going on. In addition, each of these groups knew little about the others.³

Some form of intensive community development was needed to smooth out transitions in a period of rapid change. Rather than from hostility, the residents who reacted took an active interest in the project out of confusion about what would happen next. Their community was undergoing a rapid change about which they understood little. No one knew exactly what would physically take place, much less about the consequences of any changes. They were on the verge of expansion and social change, and many were becoming quite insecure. Their insecurity was heightened by an expressed inferiority in dealing with educated officials and by internal problems of developing a trusted leadership.

Covered in this report has been the formation of as many as seven resident groups interested in their church and community and the methods applied by outsiders to formulate activities. While the bulk of this

³These five groups have already been mentioned. They were the Head Start Program, Student Government, the Newman Club, the Medical faculty, and the Extension Service. In addition, there were various individuals from the University who volunteered their services. They came from the Departments of History, Engineering, and Sociology. Furthermore, at this writing, the Department of Social Work has acknowledged as interest.

outside help came from church leaders, the religious institutions in the area were left relatively voiceless in the affairs of the Scheme. With the absence of direct local government, the Church was the only remaining institution where the people could express themselves in an organized manner. Instead of including the Church, men relatively unfamiliar with the area were responsible for guiding the community's fate on the Implementation and Co-ordinating Committees. Indeed, at least two other special interest groups within the community were never organized and never heard from. These included welfare clients and small businessmen. In fact, in none of the reports which were completed were any of these interests looked at separately in any detail.

In view, then, of the facts which have been presented on all of the preceding pages, perhaps it is time to sum up by presenting a few general propositions:

- (a) Citizen support and attention are necessary to successful conservation renewal. Without these renewal in a physical sense may be achieved, but only at some cost-delay, opposition and excessive instability in neighborhood population (Ibid.: 281-282).

- (b) In demolition-relocation projects:

....organized opposition is more likely to appear in areas with a relatively stable population (Davis, 1966:153).

In rehabilitation projects, with healthy provisions for citizen participation, the reverse is likely to be true.

- (c) If neighborhood groups choose to oppose the city every step of the way, they can make the tasks of the city officials close to impossible (Ibid.:194).

- (d) Widespread participation in slum clearance politics, far from being necessary, often proves disastrous. In this respect clearance might well be distinguished from rehabilitation, which requires the active cooperation of site residents and neighborhood groups (Kaplan, 1966:174).
- (e) With competent outside instruction, low-income groups are capable of co-operating with local officials and in taking the initiative in carrying through projects to improve their community.
- (f) The prospect of rehabilitation type urban renewal will act as an incentive to morale and may well stimulate enthusiasm in areas beyond mere physical improvements.
- (g) Disillusionment may result in being unable to cope with areas of enthusiasm beyond the physical aspects of urban renewal. Citizens should be allowed to take the initiative here, and the officials should be equipped to provide help as the need arises.
- (h) Citizen groups will strive for a relationship of equal social ranking with bureaucrats and other officials. To directly confront these actions will lead to a setback for the project as a whole.
- (i) Satisfaction with urban renewal is a function of the local residents' experience with it as it relates to their expectations and goals and over-all definition of the situation.
- (j) A sudden and radical change in the conditions of a community, such as may be introduced through urban renewal, may cause the

population to loose its bearings, resulting in unstable adjustment during and after completion of a given project.

With respect to this last proposition, because of the element of rapid change involved in an urban renewal project, it does not appear that the introduction of better living conditions alone will lead to stable adjustment at the completion of a project without some form of community development. Ideally, such a program would include specialists such as social workers, medical workers, and teachers for adult education in addition to a community organizer. Important in areas like Blackhead Road is the general environment which includes plenty of open spaces, fresh air, and in knowing all of one's neighbors. Any radical change in these conditions requires the positive involvement of local citizens and some means of producing for them as smooth a transition as possible. It seems doubtful, then, that physical change can be the sole or perhaps even the prime objective of most projects which intend to upgrade a depressed area. In most cases, physical rehabilitation or urban renewal should be considered jointly with community development.

APPENDIX A

METHODS

Preliminary Investigation

In May of 1969, I learned of an urban renewal project underway in the Blackhead Road community. The project appeared, at first, to be different from any other in Canada. In the first place, urban renewal was being conducted in a community which, while adjacent to the City, has barriers that physically isolate it from the City. In the second place, the emphasis of the project was on: 1) rehabilitation, and 2) provision of basic services in the form of water and sewage. Moreover, the spirit behind the whole project was geared to helping upgrade the people living in the community rather than having as its sole objective the immediate physical and financial improvement of the metropolitan area. Rather than incidental to the wheels of progress, it appeared as though the local residents were the center of attention. Besides the physical aspects of the project, some plans had been laid for social development.

I spent the following summer familiarizing myself with the urban renewal plan for the area, examining plans for St. John's, interviewing officials connected with the project, and establishing a contact in the community who could introduce me to people and give me an over-all view of the situation. I was impressed in the beginning with the manner in

which both the officials and local residents were enthusiastic about the project and looked upon it as a possible model for all of Canada. Everyone felt that something new and creative was being tried. Hence, I decided to develop a research design.

Initial Proposal and Problems

It was decided that, as something new was being tried, an exploratory descriptive study would be the best approach. The object was to explain the nature of the community, the urban renewal project, to see how the project was different from others, to examine how the project was progressing, and to examine some of the changes it would bring about. In order to do this, a questionnaire was prepared to give to home owners, and I hoped to be able to attend meetings within the community, meetings of officials, conduct interviews with the officials, get access to records, and develop a few contacts within the community. I was unable, however, to attend meetings of the officials. In addition, I was unable to obtain many official records. However, I was able to establish confidential informants within the urban renewal framework.

I was told officially that I would not be welcome at the meetings between officials because my presence might disrupt the proceedings and make others self-conscious. I was further not allowed to see any official records, I was told, out of respect for the privacy of those individuals living in the community.

In the Urban Renewal Office files were kept on each family. This constituted much of the raw data that had been used to compile a social

study for the area in 1965. Since the urban renewal planners refused to allow me to consult this data, I was forced to rely on the finished report of 1965 when I wished to use information relating to the universal population of the community. This report, called An Interim Report on Urban Renewal at Blackhead, Near St. John's, Newfoundland for the St. John's Metropolitan Area Board, is referred to in the remainder of this work as the Interim Report. It is, to date, the most comprehensive analysis of the population characteristics of the area because of its attempt to deal with a universal population rather than a random sample. The Report, however, does suffer from a number of inadequacies.

Not all of the statistical categories were at equal intervals, and not all of the categories were mutually exclusive or properly defined. For example, it is impossible to tell exactly what is meant by the word "family" or what members of a given household constitute a family unit. Thus, a problem encountered early in the study, without access to the urban renewal files, was how to reconstruct the statistical categories in the Interim Report in order to make comparisons with the sample survey. This problem, coupled with the fact that no research design was included in the Interim Report, made many potentially fruitful comparisons impossible.¹

Other problems arose as well. To begin, there were some discrepancies showing the location of homes between various maps used by the urban renewal project. Next, there appeared to be discrepancies between the two lists of names of home owners in the area which I was able to obtain.

¹The lack of a research design published in a report by a private firm is not uncommon.

Sample Survey

I began by deciding to sample "home owners" in the area since they were most numerous and because my initial look at the area indicated that they were the ones most involved with the urban renewal process. They had the most to gain and lose and were the most vocal. In addition, the fact that urban renewal was dealing with an area made up predominantly of home owners was one of the main factors making this project unique.

I, therefore, obtained two separate lists of home owners in the area from two different sources on the urban renewal staff. These were lists made up especially for the project, and I obtained two in case there were any mistakes in one. As it turned out, both lists contained inaccuracies and had not been completely brought up to date. I was assured, however, that these were the same lists of home owners the Staff of the project were working from. One list gave the names of home owners in alphabetical order, and the other listed the names according to a code from which each house could be identified on a map.

I proceeded to choose a random sample of 75 home owners to whom I would administer a questionnaire. Table 1 (which also appears in Chapter I, page 8) indicates the success in locating names in the sample and the success in completing interviews.

As can be seen in Table 1, 66.6 per cent of the 21 uncompleted interviews resulted from some inadequacy in the lists of residents. In addition, in another three instances, the actual owner of the home was not the husband as listed but the wife as the husband was either dead or had deserted. In another four instances, the people listed as the home

TABLE 1.--Interviews in a random sample of 75,
completed and not completed

<u>State of Completion</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Per cent</u>
Interviews not completed		
1. Owners who had sold out and moved as far back as three years ago	6(8.0)	
2. Owners who had moved away and were either renting their facilities or allowing another family to use their facilities rent free	2(2.6)	
3. Owner who died	2(2.6)	
4. Errors in name on the lists	3(4.0)	
5. Error in list as owner had been outside the Scheme all along	1(1.3)	
6. Owner refused to be interviewed	<u>7(9.3)</u>	
Total incompleted interviews	21(100%)	28.0
Interviews completed	<u>54</u>	<u>72.0</u>
TOTAL	75	100.0%

owner were using someone else's facilities, but it was possible to trace the actual owner within the community and complete the interview.

Hence, a random sample of 54 interviews were completed with home owners. In instances where information was required about the home owner and the others living with him in the household, a total population of 287 persons was encompassed. In order to establish the credibility of the random sample after having run into some difficulty with the lists, a formula was used to determine certainty for a finite population.² The universal population of home owners, according to the Interim Report, is 322, of which I sampled 54. To test certainty, a sample question was picked. It was, which do you feel is more important to you: a) modern conveniences, or b) home ownership. Seven of the 54 home owners picked "a" and 47 picked "b". Using the formula, this question proved to be within 14 per cent of either side of the mean (certainty), 95 per cent of the time (reliability).³

Another test of reliability is to compare the results of this study with the results of a previous one. Table 14 does this using age groupings. The comparison is with the 1965 Interim Report. In order to do this, figures found in this study were regrouped according to the unequal

²Formula for certainty for a finite population:

$$No = \frac{T^2(N) (v^2)}{(N) (d^2) + (v^2)} \quad (\text{Hansen, et. al., 1953:137})$$

³To be exact, 53.535 interviews would have been needed to be within 14 per cent of the mean.

TABLE 14.--Age of Population: A Comparison Between
the Current Study and the Interim Report

<u>Age Group</u>	<u>Part A</u> <u>Interim Report</u> <u>Total = 2073</u>		<u>Part B</u> <u>Current Study</u> <u>Total = 287</u>	
	<u>Number of</u> <u>Persons</u>	<u>Per cent of</u> <u>Population</u>	<u>Number of</u> <u>Persons</u>	<u>Per cent of</u> <u>Population</u>
0-4	310	14.9	34	11.8
5-14	619	30.0	95	33.1
15-19	238	11.5	37	12.8
20-44	588	28.3	71	24.7
45-64	250	12.0	38	13.2
65 plus	68	3.3	11	3.8
Don't know	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>0.3</u>
	2073	100%	287	100%

(Project Planning Associates, 1965:4).

intervals used in the Interim Report. Part A of Table 14 shows the figures from the Interim Report, and Part B shows the figures from this study.

As can be seen from Table 14, the figures in the percentage column for both the Interim Report and this study are very close, suggesting that the random sample of 54 home owners is representative of the universal population.

The Interviews

In November 1969, I was informed that a number of undergraduates, enrolled in an introductory methodology course, would be at my disposal to aid in interviewing. It was explained that the enlistment of each interviewer would have to be on a voluntary basis. The instructor of the course gave each student his choice of doing interviews or taking a final examination. Most of the students chose the former. In all, 11 students volunteered (this added up to 12 interviewers including myself).

Handbills were made up announcing that an interviewer would be calling on homes in the near future and asked for co-operation. With the help of a neighborhood child, I distributed them to homes which had been selected. I was met with varied reactions, among them a sigh of relief that I had not come to deliver any eviction notices.

A kit consisting of questionnaires, a letter of introduction, a map of the area, a list of interview instructions, and a list of my office hours was given to each interviewer. During the office hours, I was available to give advice, look over completed questionnaires, and give rides to the area. About two weeks of class time (three hours a week)

were spent giving interview instructions to the students. During this time, nine of the students attempted one interview, which served as a pilot test, and a few changes were made in the questionnaire as a result of their inquiries. The total period for completing interviews took four weeks. The time needed to complete each interview varied greatly, from one to two and a half hours, depending on the respondent. Many of those who consented to be interviewed took an interest and became very talkative.

Except for one student, who at this time had many personal commitments, no problems were encountered with the interviewers. In fact, the quality of the interviews was better than expected. At the completion of each interview, each questionnaire was reviewed question by question with each student privately for possible mistakes and oversights. Each interviewer worked individually in the field except for two females, each of whom worked with a male interviewer. This was felt advisable in case there was any trouble. When the friendliness of the area became obvious, one of the female interviewers ventured forth on her own. Accompaniment by a male interviewer was a decision left up to them after completion of their first interview. Throughout the whole process, morale and enthusiasm was very high.

During the course of approaching people, the interviewers met with a total of seven rejections. Two, for no apparent reason, were reluctant to be interviewed. However, they may have been having second thoughts over what the information was to be used for. One woman thought the questions were too personal once the interview got underway. One man was

willing to be interviewed but insisted that nothing be kept in writing. One man's health was too poor, and he suffered from deafness. One man deliberately kept avoiding the interviewer when he came around. In addition, approaching the house was hazardous because of several large dogs. Neighbors advised the interviewer not to treat them lightly. Last, one man had both a day and a night job, and while he expressed a great deal of willingness to be interviewed, no suitable time could be found.

In addition to this, the interviewers were asked to make comments on the back of the questionnaire if any disturbances occurred during the interview, if there was anything in particular which bothered the respondent noticeably, if age or ill health were thought to affect the interview, or if there was anything in particular which impressed the interviewer. Out of the 54 interviews, no comment was made in 31 cases. The remaining 23 interviews about which comments were made gave a wide variety of impressions. The following are a sample. In three cases, the interviewer was impressed favorably with the respondent's intelligence. In two cases, the respondents had trouble trying to express themselves, although they were quite co-operative. In an additional two cases, the male respondents insisted their wife knew more than they did. Fortunately, in these two instances the wife was not around to interfere. In three cases, the interviewer felt that the respondent was uninterested or apathetic. In these cases, the wife was present and she made her own answers known. In other instances where wives were present, they did not become a problem. In two instances, health was thought to have hampered parts of the interview. In one case, the respondent and his wife were

reluctant to be interviewed. They had heard from a neighbor that a lot of personal questions would be asked. However, once the interview was underway, they loosened up and remarked enjoying the session at the end. In one case, a woman was being interviewed while her adult son was present. While she wanted to co-operate, he kept probing the interviewer for information about who "was really" behind this study. He expressed great suspicion but with little effect on his mother. Above, then, are 14 examples of the types of comments the interviewers had about their experiences in the field which they felt were worth noting.

Cases where suspicious people had called the authorities wanting to know who was "really" behind the study, who wanted to know if urban renewal was sponsoring it, or who had called to find out if they absolutely had to answer the questions were reported to me by the Urban Renewal Officer and the Director of Urban and Rural Planning. Both of these gentlemen were quite co-operative while being interviewed on a number of occasions. However, the Director of Urban and Rural Planning expressed concern over the phone calls. In neither instance was any information given out about the callers or their numbers. Hence, it cannot be determined if any were included in the sample, or if a large or small number placed calls. In any event, from the experience of the interviewers, no ill feelings were expressed at the end of any interview. However, from the above, it is obvious that some people in the community had become very nervous about expressing themselves to outsiders asking unfamiliar questions.

Participant Observation

In May of 1969, I was introduced by a CBC script writer and reporter to a resident who would take me around the community. This reporter made available a small file she had kept on the area, allowed me to review some news film clippings of the area, and provided me with some background information. Following this, as mentioned earlier, I did some preliminary work and was ready to begin my field work in September.

Basically, I wanted to be able to attend local meetings in the area and become accepted by a few residents. Because the area was apt to make distinctions between "locals" and "outsiders", because I was aware that in such places rifts can also develop between community factions, and because I had not completely sized up the situation in Blackhead Road, I did not immediately attempt to become too close to my initial contact. Rather, I tried not to antagonize or to move in too quickly on the situation. In the long run this paid off, for while rifts had not been carried to their extremes, at that time they were in the process of widening. My initial contact was an outspoken community leader who was falling under suspicion by some of his peers. Through him I obtained permission to attend Local Advisory Committee meetings and was invited to general public meetings. After that, meeting and talking with people was no problem.

Because in September 1969 it was understood that I would carry out all of the interviews with the questionnaire, I avoided any intimate contacts, preferring only to attend meetings and watch. I attended every Local Advisory Committee meeting between August of 1969 and January of 1970 as well as every public meeting held in the community after August.

At first, there was no way of assessing what the reaction would be if I developed friendships who later might appear in the random sample. I assumed that if they became good enough friends or enemies, it would bias the interviews.

In November when I learned I would have a group of undergraduates at my disposal, I made a greater attempt to make contacts. At this time, I volunteered my services to a group of teachers trying to conduct a survey in the area. My help took the form of being an interviewer stationed at St. John Bosco School. This act helped greatly, and I met people who eventually invited me into their homes, showed me all of their deeds and papers, and who were content to talk, sometimes for hours. In the process, I became acquainted with some of their attitudes toward their community and neighbors and learned something of their folklore. A tape recording of some of it was possible and is included in Appendix C. In addition, several residents took the trouble to walk me around the community and introduce me to other people.

Community's Reaction To Me

During the time I conducted field work in the community, I expressed few opinions, and at meetings I sat either by myself or near someone familiar and took notes on the proceedings. I had no concrete idea at the time how I was being accepted except by a few. The rest of my feelings were purely intuitive.

Verbal reactions to me were expressed freely and were quite frank once the field work had been completed and I became more active in the

Householder's Union. At least one person on the Local Advisory Committee had been very suspicious of my motives. While friendly, he had kept his distance. Two other gentlemen privately looked into my past until they were satisfied.⁴ In addition, Father Shea showed a reluctance to accept me at face value at the beginning. He remarked several times that I did not seem to take sides either with the community or with urban renewal, and this seemed to upset him. Nevertheless, while he was reluctant, he did co-operate and also informed me of many meetings. In December when John Noyes of Memorial University's History Department and a personal friend of Father Shea's became involved in the community, he spoke favorably of me and encouraged Father Shea to co-operate. After that, any difficulty which may have existed disappeared. Interviews were more open, and records I requested were explained and placed at my disposal.

In the spring of 1970, the member of the Local Advisory Committee who had been particularly suspicious of me opened up as did others. The view that appears to have predominated about me while I did my research was that I had become a "fixture", always present at events. In fact, when I decided to end my studies in January and did not show up to some meetings, I was missed. A few people asked where I was and how come I did not show up. Word of these inquiries got back through a phone call from a resident and through John Noyes.

During all of this, the thesis was in the back of the minds of some. Yet, at no time was it ever made an embarrassing issue. At no time

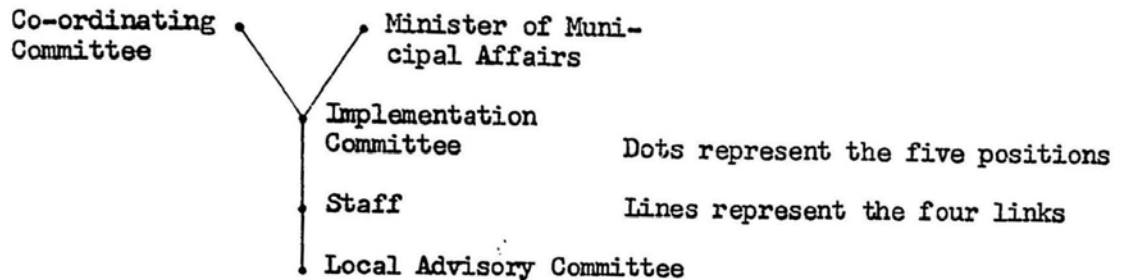
⁴One suspicion was a fear that I may have been hired to spy for the officials.

did I try to cover up what I was doing. When asked, I told people that I was an M. A. student in sociology writing a thesis on urban renewal for a degree. The fact that I was interested in urban renewal caught the attention of a number of people, and I was often handed data I did not even ask for. Needless to say, this made my task much easier since I did not have to work at being coy or risk exposure. The fact that I was interested in their problems with urban renewal seemed enough. It was obvious from discussions that most did not know what an M. A. degree, a thesis, or sociology were.

Because of the lack of co-operation from the urban renewal project in an official capacity, I worked at developing contacts within their framework. This arose largely as a result of my own curiosity and an inability to take no for an answer. To a very satisfactory extent this worked, and much information was confidentially passed on to me about the project.

Peripheral Index

The Peripheral Index ("Relative Peripheral Index") was computed in Chapter V, page 205 to illustrate quantitatively the relative position of each of the bodies party to the urban renewal structure in Blackhead Road. To arrive at a Peripheral Index, we first find the Centrality Index (which is sensitive to the size and structure of a given communication pattern). To do this, we sum up the number of links between the shortest distance for each position and every other position. In a five position pattern, such as the "y", there will be a total of four links:



In the "y" pattern for the Local Advisory Committee, this means "one" for the link between it and the Staff, plus "two" for the links between it and the Implementation Committee, plus "three" for the links between it and the Co-ordinating Committee, and plus "three" for the links between it and the Minister of Municipal Affairs (Flow Chart III, page 204).

These links are then added together for this position ($1 + 2 + 3 + 3 = 9$).

We then go through this procedure for every other position:

$1 + 2 + 3 + 3 = 9$ for the Local Advisory Committee; $1 + 2 + 2 + 3 = 8$ for the Co-ordinating Committee; $1 + 2 + 2 + 3 = 8$ for the Minister of Municipal Affairs; $1 + 1 + 2 + 2 = 6$ for the Staff; and $1 + 1 + 1 + 2 = 5$ for the Implementation Committee. Once we have done this for all other positions, we add the sums together ($9 + 8 + 8 + 6 + 5 = 36$). In a "y" pattern with five positions this equals 36. We then divide the total sum for all the positions by the sum of a particular position. In the case of the Local Advisory Committee it is $36 \div 9$ or 4.0. The figure of 4.0 is the Centrality Index for this Committee.

The Peripheral Index is the difference between the Centrality Index of any one position and the Centrality Index of that position most centrally located. For example, the Centrality Index for the Implementation Committee is 6.7. It is also the most centrally located position. Hence,

$6.7 - 6.7 = 0$. Zero is the Peripheral Index. For the Local Advisory Committee, it would be $6.7 - 4.0$ equalling 3.2. For the total pattern, the Peripheral Index may be found by summing all of the Peripheral Indices for each position.

Leavitt found that certain behavioral patterns and the Centrality Index are related in communication patterns with five positions. It appeared unreasonable, however, to assume that this correlation would hold for groups of much larger size. To obviate this difficulty, the Peripheral Index was established. It measures the "relative" peripherality of any position in a pattern to the one that is most central. Leavitt further found that observed differences in behavior correlate with the Peripheral Index. For example, recognition of a leader "....becomes more clear-cut as the differences in peripherality within a pattern become greater." Other forms of behavior, such as the number of messages and satisfaction, correlate positively with the Peripheral Index when each position is taken into consideration (Leavitt, 1958:558-560).

Other Attempts to Study the Community

In addition to conducting interviews with officials and church leaders from all three major religious groups in the community, I obtained interviews and records from past employers of Blackhead Road labor, the R.C.M.P., the St. John's Constabulary, the Department of Welfare, and the Department of Health.

In addition, an attempt was made to map the community. This was approached in two ways. The first method was to take the list of home

owners provided by the Urban Renewal Office and pinpoint each name alongside the home where the person was located. The second way was to sit down with lists of memberships in organizations and on the welfare roles and go over them with someone thoroughly familiar with the area. Each person's approximate location within the community was therefore found. These lists were also compared with the lists of home owners in order to locate an exact residential position.

Conclusions

While the questionnaire took about six weeks to complete, including interview training and administrating the schedule, the total amount of extensive field work in the community covered a period of five months (September of 1969 to January of 1970). Following this, I sat down to organize my notes and write. All field notes were placed in folders, and a complete index and cross index were drawn up for each folder. Later, I became involved with community development in the area for a period of seven months (February 1970 to August 1970).

With all of this behind me, I can sigh with relief, but I am not altogether glad it is over. It was an experience that, while mammoth, led me down many interesting twists and turns toward a fuller education.

APPENDIX B
HOUSING BRIEF

The following is the Housing Brief compiled by the Local Advisory Committee in February 1969. It was submitted as the Committee's recommendation for an alternative to public housing. Basically, its plea is for subsidized home ownership.

Report and Recommendations for Housing on the Blackhead Road

In their final report on the Blackhead Urban Renewal (sic) Scheme, Project Planning Associates, in Part III, section 28, outlined the following future for the 101 families whose present homes are to be demolished.

- '10 - Home ownership - income too high for public housing
- 40 - Public Housing - a few may wish to own
- 51 - Aided housing'

This in effect means that 91% of those people who are now home owners will have to settle for non-owned public housing. In effect too it means that 40% of the total present population of the Blackhead Road community will lose home ownership and be forced into Public housing.

It is the opinion of this Sub-committee that this situation is completely untenable, completely in conflict with the wishes of the present home owners and psychologically and sociologically unsound. Even a superficial understanding of the peoples' motives for coming to this community in the first place, will indicate that the desire for home ownership was predominant. The majority of the people who settled on the Blackhead Road, did so because having been evicted from their homes in St. John's, to allow for city development, came to the Blackhead Road, and in the face of fierce hardships built their own homes.

In most instances the homes they built were not up to contemporary standards. Yet the people choose to live in sub-standard "owned" homes rather than anywhere else. It should not be overlooked that this desire for and pride in home ownership has not diminished. On the contrary it has increased.

It has been argued that the state of disrepair etc., of many of the homes on the Blackhead Road, indicates a lack of interest in home ownership. This argument does not ring true. The real causes of the present situation are,

- a) the lack of employment opportunity in St. John's. Because of this lack many are rendered jobless and have to depend on Welfare. This situation was further aggravated by the lack of a decent road into the community and by the lack of any kind of public transportation. In effect many people on the Blackhead Road who could possibly get jobs in St. John's, were prevented from doing so by the difficulty of commuting.
- b) the lack of municipal services (particularly water and sewage) which should have been provided years ago.
- c) the lack of interest in the area, by all Governments, which resulted in haphazard, unplanned, building.
- d) the lack of interest in the educational needs of the people; this resulted in many of the people leaving school before receiving sufficient education to maintain themselves or their homes.

If the moral of the people is to be uplifted, if the social status of the people is to be improved, then the destruction of about their only source of pride (home ownership) is certainly not the way to go about it.

Further it is the opinion of this Committee, that the present Project proposal for housing, will simply not be accepted by the people.

Further we feel that there is no reason for the Public Housing to be extensive as that which is planned. Realising that destructive criticism is of no value, we propose the following positive approach.

A) FOR HOME OWNERS WHOSE HOMES ARE TO BE DEMOLISHED AND WHO HAVE AN INCOME FROM ANY SOURCE

The compensation that they will receive for their homes and land to be considered as a down payment on a new home. This money could be retained by Government, which could build the new homes. Then on a rent to income basis, the people would be able to pay off the balance owed on their homes. They should be able to use their own free labour, or the free labour of their friends to help construct the homes. This free labour would reduce considerably the cost of construction. It would reduce the cost both to owner and Government. It is understood of course that such homes would have to be built under strict professional supervision. It would be a simple matter for a Contractor to build such homes for an outside price (\$12,000.00 was suggested by Project Planners) while at the same time contracting for a fixed percentage, to supervise the building of such homes where free labour was involved. Home ownership should not be extended until the balance of payments was completed and on condition that proper maintenance and care was taken of the home.

This plan we feel would create an atmosphere where people would co-operate with one another; it would create in the people the desire to pay for their homes as quickly as possible and it would help to develop in the people a pride in caring for and maintaining their homes.

THE FOLLOWING COMPARISON SHOWS THAT THE PROPOSAL OF THIS COMMITTEE NOT ONLY ASSURES HOME OWNERSHIP BUT SAVES THE GOVERNMENT MONEY

PRESENT PROPOSED PLAN OF THE PROJECT

Cost per unit	\$12,000
Using figures as shown in Part III,	
Par. 31 the economic rent is	\$80.84
average rent recovery is	<u>32.00</u>
Monthly subsidy of Government	
is therefore	\$48.84

Note that this proposed Subsidy is in perpetuity

SUGGESTED ALTERNATE PROPOSAL OF THIS COMMITTEE

Allow those to receive compensation to use same to create equity in their own home by way of "Rental Purchase Agreement"

Cost per unit		\$12,000
less average compensation	\$3,000	
less free labour average 10%	<u>1,200</u>	
	\$4,200	<u>4,200</u>
Proposed net cost of home to Government would then be		\$ 7,800

\$80.84 is to \$12,000
as \$52.50 is to \$ 7,800

Therefore the Government Subsidy according to our proposal would be

\$20.50 per month (\$52.50 minus \$32.00)
as opposed to \$48.84 per month (\$80.84 minus \$32.00)

which the Government would have to pay (in perpetuity) if the proposal of Project Planners is to be followed.

On the basis of the monthly subsidy not being debited against the purchaser (the Government's economic rent includes (\$15.00 per month for rent and \$5.00 per month for taxes) he would have a debt free home in TWENTY YEARS.

THE PURCHASER WILL AT THE SAME TIME RELIEVE THE GOVERNMENT FROM PAYING ANY FURTHER SUBSIDIES AFTER TWENTY YEARS.

ACTUAL SAVINGS TO GOVERNMENT OVER TWENTY YEARS

a) ON ONE UNIT

1) on subsidies per unit		\$ 6,801.60
\$28.34 (\$48.84 minus \$20.50) per month x 12 months x 20 years.		6,801.60
2) Reduced costs per unit		
average compensation	\$3,000.00	
average free labour	<u>1,200.00</u>	
		<u>4,200.00</u>
		\$11,001.60

.....

b) ON FORTY UNITS

40 x \$11,001.60 or \$440,064.00

- c) Will this not save Government money?
- d) Could not this basic principle be applied to the other 51 families who will have Compensation that could be used for equity plus their free labour?

APPENDIX C

FOLKLORE

During the time I was in the community, I learned about the existence of stories that had grown up in the area about ghosts and witches. The telling of these stories predominated among the more elderly residents. A couple of residents in their 20's and several teenagers noted particular older residents who could tell them best. While the younger residents did not take these stories seriously, there did appear to be some evidence that some of the older residents did. Certainly in the few instances where I ran across them, if there was not an outright belief, there was a definite respect for them. This was evidenced in particular by one woman who, when surrounded by her children, announced that the stories were fun to listen to and were entertaining, but who could not bring herself to say they were out-and-out fiction.

On Saturday, November 22nd, I had an opportunity to tape record a woman who was in her 80's. Her stories were tales based on the personal experiences of her late husband or others she knew. While the Newfoundland dialect was particularly strong and her sentences a bit disconnected, with the help of my wife (who is a native Newfoundlander), I was able to piece it all together.

The day was a cloudy one, as is normal for St. John's. I entered the small shack where the woman lived alone. I was greeted by a large

police dog and timidly made my way past. The old woman was sitting in the kitchen preparing some vegetables in a large pot near the oil stove. We talked for a while, and at an appropriate time, I took out the tape recorder.

Well, me son, we was goin' down to the union hall one night, an' it started in to snow, so we thought better of it an' never went after all. That was when we was on our way down. So we turns around to go back home. Now, our husbands was comin' up the hill that night, and one fellow left the other one and went a different way. Now the one that was left started comin' home, and then, all of a sudden-like, he thought he saw his wife comin' over the road. So he sits hisself down and waits for her.

When he turns around again, she weren't there! So he gets up to go down where he saw her and all he sees is his own foot tracks. So he sits down again waitin' for her. Then he waited for another spell. Then he gets up and he went further and further down, and when he got further down, a shadow went from him and went further across the road.

An' that was the woman!! He never knew what to make of it. He still thought that it was his wife, so he started in calling out her name, an' she never answered him. So back he goes again, sitting and waitin' for her. After a spell, he goes back to see if it was his wife. And when he did she disappeared -- went right across the river and went into another person's house. An' dat woman was seen on the Hill for years. She was always seen with a baby in her arms. That was the ghost.

Now the fellow what seen it only seen it once or twice -- but me, I never seen it at all. Never once -- an' I never asked no one either. The fellow what seen it? That fellow was me husband.

A lot of people use to say they saw it, but they couldn't get to see who it was, 'cause every time they'd get to see her, she'd run, but 'twas a ghost, a'right.

APPENDIX D
THE INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

1. Address
2. Are you now:
 - a. Single
 - b. Married
 - c. Widowed
 - d. Separated
 - e. Divorced
 - f. Other
3. If married, how long have you been married?
 If widowed, " " " " " widowed?
 If separated, " " " " " separated?
 If divorced, " " " " " divorced
 Other
4. Are you currently employed:

	No. of jobs
	I II III
Full time	
Part time	
Unemployed	
Retired	
Full time housewife	
Full time student	
Laid off	
Other (specify)	
5. If currently employed (question 4), what kind of work do you do?
6. If not now working (question 4), what kind of work did you usually do?
7. If anyone else in your house is currently employed, what kind of work do they do and what is their relation to you and how old are they?
8. Is there any adult in your house who has worked and is now unemployed? What kind of work did they usually do and what is their relation to you?

9. What was your father's usual job?
10. If married at any time (question 2), what was your wife's/husband's father's usual job?
11. What was the highest grade that you completed in school?
12. Have you had any other training?
13. If married at any time (question 2), what was the highest grade that your husband/wife completed in school?
14. How old are you?
15. If married at any time (question 2), how old is your wife/husband?
16. Who else lives in your house, and would you please tell me their relationships to you, their names, their relationship, their age, and the grade in school they last completed?
17. Do you have any children living away from home? If yes, would you please tell me their names, whether a son or daughter, their age, the last grade they completed in school, and where they are now?
18. Where was your family living when you were born?
19. If married now (question 2), where was your husband's/wife's family living when he/she was born?
20. How long have you lived in the Blackhead?
21. If married now (question 2), how long has your wife/husband lived in the Blackhead?
22. Have you ever lived anywhere other than the Blackhead? Where? How long?
23. If married now (question 2), has your husband/wife ever lived anywhere other than the Blackhead? Where? How long?
24. If yes to question 23, why did you move from your last residence?
25. Why did your family move to the Blackhead rather than somewhere else?
(Interviewer -- Number as many choices as apply in order of preference.)
 - a. To avoid high cost of living
 - b. To avoid taxation
 - c. The Welfare Department directed you
 - d. To be close to relatives
 - e. Area was closest to your job
 - f. Only place where you could own your own home
 - g. Other reasons (specify)

26. To what religious denomination do you belong?
27. If married now (question 2), to what religious denomination does your husband/wife belong?
28. How often do you attend church?
- a. More than once a week
 - b. Every Sunday
 - c. Once in every two weeks
 - d. Just once in a while
 - e. Seldom
 - f. Never
29. If married now (question 2), how often does your husband/wife attend church?
- a. More than once a week
 - b. Every Sunday
 - c. Once in every two weeks
 - d. Just once in a while
 - e. Seldom
 - f. Never
30. Do you own your own house in the Blackhead? If yes, what papers do you have to prove this?
31. Did you build your own house? If yes, who helped you? If no, how did you get your house (e.g. buy it, hire a construction company to build it, etc.)
32. Do you own any other houses? If yes, then where?
33. If you were to sell your house how much money would you expect to get for it? (Interviewer -- if reluctant to say try to get them to estimate.)
34. Which of the following items do you have?
- (A) First, how do you light your house?
 - 1. electricity
 - 2. kerosene lamp
 - 3. Other
 - (B) What type of kitchen stove do you have?
 - 1. Oil
 - 2. Gas
 - 3. Wood
 - 4. Electric
 - 5. Other

(C) How many of each of the following do you have?

1. Radio
2. Television
3. Telephone
4. Record player
5. Washing machine
6. Sewing machine
7. Vacuum cleaner
8. Automobile -- Make? Year?
9. Truck -- Make? Year?
10. Any other items (appliances)

(D) How do you heat your home?

1. Kitchen stove only
2. Space heater
3. Furnace (central heating)
4. Electric
5. Other

35. Where do you get your drinking water (e.g. from your own well, a friend's well, a relative's well, water truck)? Where do you get your other water (e.g. for washing clothes, bathing) (check list: Waterfordbridge River, own well, a neighbour's well, etc.)?

36. What plumbing facilities do you have?

- a. running water (e.g. supplied by a pump to a well)
- b. indoor toilet
- c. an outhouse
- d. do you have a septic tank
- e. other sources

37. How do you generally dispose of your garbage (e.g. bury it, put it in a brook, give it to the night soil truck, etc.)?

38. What clubs or organizations do you (if married, question 2) or your husband/wife belong to and how often do you participate?

	<u>Wife</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Husband</u>	<u>Frequency</u>
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Church

Fraternal

Union

Trade Guild

	<u>Wife</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Husband</u>	<u>Frequency</u>
Political				
Community (such as YWCA or YMCA, advisory committee in U. R., Boy Scouts, etc.)				
Sports				
School (such as PTA, helping kids with extra activities)				
Veterans				
Other				

39. Where do most of your close friends live?

- a. in the Blackhead
- b. in St. John's
- c. outside the Blackhead and St. John's area

If yes to "c", then where?

40. Do you and your wife/husband have any relatives (not living in your house) living in the Blackhead?

If yes

(single woman)
Relatives of wife
give relationship and age

(or single man)
Relatives of the husband
give relationship and age

NOW I WOULD LIKE TO ASK YOU SOME QUESTIONS ABOUT RAISING CHILDREN.

(Ask only people who have children high school age or younger questions 41-51.)

41. Many people feel that they are not as good parents as they ought to be. Do you ever feel this way?

- a. very often
- b. pretty often
- c. once in a while
- d. hardly ever
- e. never

42. With which of the following do you agree? Parents should:
- a. be very strict with their children most of the time
 - b. should be strict only on occasion
 - c. pretty much allow children to do what they want
43. Do you think that this neighbourhood is a good place for bringing up your children? If yes, why is it good? If no, why is it bad?
44. When Urban Renewal is completed do you think this community will become a better place for bringing up children? If yes, why will it be better? If no, why will it not become better?
45. Do your children like it here?
46. What do they like most about this area?
47. What do they like least about the area?
48. What school do your children attend?
49. What do your children think of school? Likes? Dislikes?
50. What do you think of their school? Likes? Dislikes?
51. How much education do you feel is necessary for your children?

Girls Boys

None
Grade School
High School
Trade School
University

-
52. When you are worried about something, who do you usually go to?
- a. a blood relation (specify relation)
 - b. if married (question 2) your wife/husband
 - c. a friend
 - d. the Social Worker at the Urban Renewal Office
 - e. someone in the Welfare Department
 - f. your priest or minister
 - g. other (specify)

53. As a name for your community do you prefer:
- a. Blackhead Road
 - b. The Brow
 - c. The Hill
 - d. South Hills
 - e. Other (specify)
54. What do you like best about living in the Blackhead?
55. What do you like least about living in the Blackhead?
56. Do you feel there is much crime in the area?
57. What would you like to see changed about life in the Blackhead?
58. Do your children ever complain that they are not getting along well in school because of where they are from?
59. Have you ever experienced any of the following?
- a. Been refused a job because you lived in the Blackhead
 - b. Had a taxi cab refuse to come to the Blackhead
 - c. RCMP refuse to answer your request to come to the Blackhead
 - d. Local St. John's police refuse to answer your request to come to the Blackhead
60. In your opinion what do you feel a person from St. John's is most likely to think of the people living in the Blackhead?
61. Many people have different sentiments and reactions toward those who are law enforcement officials. In your opinion what kind of service, good or bad, have the police provided your neighbourhood?
- Local St. John's police: Good? Bad? No opinion? Why?
- RCMP: Good? Bad? No opinion? Why?
62. From where do you get most of your news (T.V., radio, magazines, books, news papers, friends, etc.)?
63. How often did you read "The Hill" news -- letter put out by the Urban Renewal Office?
- a. every time it came out
 - b. sometimes when it came out
 - c. rarely
 - d. never
64. How much would you say you spend a week on food?

65. How much income did you earn in 1968? (If won't or can answer, ask to estimate) Ask source of income.

66. How much did the other members of your household earn in 1968?

<u>Source of income</u>	<u>Wife</u>	<u>Husband</u>	<u>Relative</u> <u>Give relationship</u>	<u>Except for</u> <u>renters someone</u> <u>else living in</u> <u>household</u>
Working				
Welfare				
Pension				
Other (Specify)				

67. Do you receive any outside assistance financially? If yes, from whom?

- a. relatives, not living in the Blackhead
- b. relatives living in the Blackhead, but not in your house
- c. friends in the neighbourhood
- d. Welfare Department
- e. a bank loan
- f. a finance company loan
- g. Other (specify)

68. What inconveniences have you and your family experienced as a result of the Urban Renewal Project? (Interviewer -- in recalling past events try to get them to specify when an event happened).

69. If you were given the choice of any lot in the Scheme, where would you want it to be? Specify road name or number if possible.

70. Have you ever gone to any of the Staff in the Urban Renewal Office with any problems? If yes, who have you seen? If yes, would you say they were (put name of person)

- Most helpful
- Not so helpful
- Didn't care
- Did more harm than good

In what ways were they (most helpful, not so helpful, didn't care, etc.)?

71. Have you ever been contacted by the social worker in the Urban Renewal Office regarding any problems? If yes, would you say she was:

- a. Most helpful
- b. Not so helpful
- c. Didn't care
- d. Did more harm than good

In what ways was she (most helpful, not so helpful, didn't care, etc.)?

72. Do you feel that the Urban Renewal Office has fully answered all your questions?
73. Do you understand the purposes of the following committees and organizations?
- a. The Advisory Committee
 - b. The Implementation Committee
 - c. The Co-ordination Committee
 - d. Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation
 - e. Newfoundland and Labrador Housing Corporation
 - f. The Metropolitan Area Board

74. Have you ever approached the Advisory Committee with any of your problems in Urban Renewal? If yes, would you say they were:
- a. most helpful
 - b. not so helpful
 - c. didn't care
 - d. did more harm than good

In what ways were they (most helpful, not so helpful, didn't care, etc.)?

75. If Urban Renewal brings higher living expenses would your family consider moving somewhere else?
76. Do you feel the government should have been allowed to take your land for the Urban Renewal project?
- a. Yes
 - b. No
 - c. Unsure
 - d. Don't care
77. Do you know for sure if the Urban Renewal Office is planning to move your house?
- a. Yes
 - b. No
 - c. Don't know
 - d. Unsure

If yes, to where?

78. Do you know if the Urban Renewal Office is planning to tear down your house? If yes, when? If yes, has the Urban Renewal paid you for your home yet? If no, why?

79. Has the Urban Renewal Office made you any offer for your home or land yet? If yes, how much?
80. If offer was made (question 79), how was the offer made?
- a. in a letter
 - b. by word of mouth
 - c. other (specify)
81. If offer was made (question 79), are you satisfied with the offer?
82. If offer was made (question 79), would you like to take the offer made for your home to arbitration? If no, why? If yes, why?
83. How helpful would you say your church has been in helping you along with your problems in urban renewal?
- a. most helpful
 - b. not so helpful
 - c. don't care
 - d. did more harm than good
84. Which faith do you feel has done the most to help the community in the past and with urban renewal?
- a. United Church of Canada
 - b. Roman Catholic
 - c. Anglican
 - d. Other (specify)
85. If you were given the following choices at the end of the Urban Renewal project which would you most want to see happen?
- a. The Blackhead community join St. John's and become a part of the city
 - b. become a separate village with its own government
 - c. remain as a fringe area under the Metropolitan Area Board as it is now
 - d. don't have an opinion
- Why? (for choice above)
86. What do you feel will be accomplished by urban renewal?
87. If you were in charge of the urban renewal project would you do things the same way or differently? Please explain.
88. Would you like to see the urban renewal project stay or would you like to see it end right now? Please explain.

89. Is there anything which the urban renewal program has done which pleases you? Please explain.
90. Which do you feel is more important to you?
- a. modern conveniences
 - b. home ownership
91. Do you know what is meant by the following terms?
- a. Public Row apartments
 - b. Minimum cost lots
 - c. Co-operative housing
 - d. A single family public housing unit
 - e. Semi-detached public housing units
92. Do you feel that public housing in any form would lower the Blackhead in people's opinions?
93. Which one of the following two situations do you most strongly agree with?
- a. that when government takes away a man's house they should pay him exactly what the house is worth.
 - b. that when government takes away a man's house they should give him another house even if this costs more money than the old house was worth.
94. Please rate the following kinds of housing in the order which you would prefer.
- a. Row apartment public housing
 - b. Single family public housing units
 - c. Semi-detached public housing units
 - d. The house you live in now
 - e. Co-operative housing
- (Interviewer -- one (1) is the most preferred down to 5 which is the number meaning the least preferred. If respondent refuses to answer, doesn't know the meaning of a type of housing, or won't accept a particular type no matter what, make a note of this.)
95. Do you feel that Blackhead was better off before urban renewal came? Why? Which of the following two choices do you most prefer?
- a. living in a community without modern services (e.g. plumbing, paved streets, running water) where you didn't have to worry about making regular payments.
 - b. living in a community which has modern conveniences (e.g. paved roads, running water, sewage) but where you had to worry about paying taxes and making monthly payments to upgrade your house or perhaps pay rent to a landlord.

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